



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-112
Monday
11 June 1990

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Ethiopia

Comments on Eritrean Rebel Groups Congress

EA1006180990 (Clandestine) Voice of the Tigray
Revolution in Tigrinya to Ethiopia 1530 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] The Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Eritrea [DMLE] held an outdoor congress from 1 to 6 June. It was attended by 80 voting and 36 non-voting delegates and six observers. Here is the organizational statement of the DMLE Central Committee, presented by Comrade Gebre Berhan Zere:

[Gebre] Representatives of the Tigray People's Liberation Front, the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement, the Oromo People's Democratic Organization, the Eritrean Liberation Front-the Unified Organization attended the congress and read their solidarity messages. Messages from those unable to attend the congress, such as the Popular Democratic Movement of Eritrea and other organizations, were also read out.

A report on the practical work covered by the DMLE draft program, future tasks to be undertaken, internal regulations, and legal issues were on the agenda of the congress. These matters were extensively discussed in depth in a democratic manner and later endorsed by the delegates. The congress also democratically elected the members of the Central Committee and adopted appropriate new resolutions.

One of the resolutions adopted says: We reaffirm that the just Eritrean cause is one that concerns colonial rule with historical and political evidence. We strongly condemn the invasion and intervention of Soviet social imperialism in Eritrea. We condemn the confused attitude of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party, the Ethiopian Democratic Union, the Ethiopian People's Democratic Alliance, and their like on the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination. We condemn the new intervention spearheaded by U.S. imperialism in order to subject the world to a large-scale suppressive invasion.

We call for the establishment of a broad national democratic liberation front (?to unify) the Eritrean organizations in a common struggle. We will struggle to assure the people their full democratic rights. We support the people of Ethiopia and their national and multinational struggle for full self-determination and liberation for the Eritrean people. We support democratic movements through the world.

Prizes were awarded to outstanding combatants and organizations. It was also learned that the DMLE cultural troupe gave a concert of revolutionary songs at the end of the congress.

Kenya

Moi Gives 'Full Support' to Mengistu Efforts

EA1006170990 Nairobi Domestic Service in English
1300 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today at State House, Nairobi, held talks with the Ethiopian leader, President Mengistu Haile Mariam, who was in Kenya for a one-day official visit. During the visit in Kenya, which was at the invitation of President Moi, President Mengistu held extensive discussions with his host on bilateral regional issues. President Mengistu briefed President Moi on the ongoing efforts to solve the problems in northern Ethiopia peacefully. President Moi expressed full support for the Ethiopian Government in its efforts to solve these problems.

The Ethiopian leader expressed his appreciation and gratitude to President Moi for his continued support to Ethiopia as it seeks a peaceful solution to the problems in the northern part of the country. He noted that Kenya was both an observer and a co-chairman in the talks between the Government of Ethiopia and the opposition groups.

The two presidents underlined the historical links between the two peoples of Ethiopia and Kenya and affirmed their determination to further strengthen the relations between the two countries. They also expressed the need for peace and stability in the region so that the people of the region would fully devote their attention and resources to national development and reconstruction. The two heads of state agreed to work together to bring a lasting peace in the region in close consultation with other countries in the region.

The talks, which were held in a fraternal atmosphere, characterized the long-standing goodneighborliness between the two sister countries. President Mengistu thanked President Moi, the Government and people of Kenya for the warm welcome and hospitality extended to him and his delegation during the one-day official visit. President Mengistu left for home shortly after 1515 and was seen off at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport by his host, President Moi. [passage omitted]

Somalia

Report of 'Explosions' at Presidential Palace

AB0996212790 Paris AFP in English 2119 GMT
9 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Nairobi, Jun 9 (AFP)—Explosions rocked the Presidential Palace overnight in the Somali capital, Mogadishu, travellers in the area said Saturday. The blasts could be heard for many kilometres around, causing some panic among the population, sources said.

It is not known if the president of the East African country, Mohamed Siad Barre, was in the palace when the explosions occurred. [passage omitted]

Shot 'Fired by Accident'

EA0806203490 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali 1850 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] A report we have received from the command of the Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] Presidential Guard has disclosed that the explosion heard from inside the headquarters at 1930 [1630 GMT] tonight was a shot fired by accident by a soldier of the SDR Presidential Guard.

The explosion of the bullet was heard around the Presidency. The relevant forces are investigating its cause.

President Siad Barre Departs for Libya 10 June

EA1006191390 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali 1700 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Today at 1300, the president of the Somali Democratic Republic [SDR], Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, left for Libya at the head of a delegation. Comrade Siad told reporters at the airport VIP lounge in Mogadishu that his visit is in response to an invitation from the Libyan Government and that he will hold talks with its leader, Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi. Asked whether his visit to Libya would be followed by visits to other countries, the president replied that it is possible that he will visit other countries.

The SDR president called on the Somali people to recognize and defend their interests with patriotism and integrity and wished them success and prosperity. The president's delegation includes the minister of state for foreign affairs, Comrade Dr. Mohamed Ali Hamud. [passage omitted]

Officials on Economy, New Commercial Bank

EA0806143290 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali 1700 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Comrade Mohamed Gelle Yusuf, the Somali Democratic Republic minister of treasury and finance today gave further explanations on the general economic situation of the country, on the difficulties that exist, and the steps the government has taken to solve the economic, financial, and money problems of the country. The minister, speaking at a news conference held at his office attended by the different mass media of the nation, said that proposals were aimed at strengthening the mainstays of the economy, at developing or financing various sectors of the economy such as agriculture, livestock, fisheries, and so on, and also to strive toward implementing social service programs such as roads, hospitals etc.

Comrade Mohamed Gelle Yusuf said it was undeniable there were economic problems, which Somalia shared

with the world, especially the developing countries and in overcoming which the Somali government had embarked upon the implementation of a policy of opening up the economy of the country whereby the private sector and businessmen were now free to trade regulations [as heard]. They are being allowed to export domestic products and import others.

Speaking on the problem encountered by the banks, the minister said that the government is carrying out steps to rectify the issue and businessmen and private capitalists were being allowed to open private banks in a joint venture with the government and other foreigners. The minister said that side by side with this step, there were financial and economic programs which encouraged exporters and everyone involved in production.

Comrade Mohamoud Gelle Yusuf also said that the economic and financial difficulties could be overcome by greatly strengthening the collection of internal revenues such as taxes and by increasing the proper exploitation of the resources of the country through risk financing. He said that the economic potential of the country was very high, and, if properly exploited, would ensure that current problems with the need for external aid were overcome.

The minister, speaking on the government budget for 1990, said that it was based on developing social services, improving the economic growth of the country, and paying back foreign debts. He said that to do this it was necessary to obtain revenues capable of covering what was needed.

The minister said that revenues could come from taxation and production. He called upon the people and businessmen with tax arrears to pay taxes in line with the tax laws and regulations. Taxation was the basis for economic growth and the provision of social services in every country and anyone who had arrears and did not pay was on a par with he who committed a crime against the nation. The minister said that it was necessary for every citizen to act responsibly in paying taxes.

Comrade Mohamed Gelle Yusuf, the minister of treasury and finance, urged the departments and personnel responsible for collecting taxes to implement the laws on taxation diligently so that the social services and economy of the country could be developed.

Dr. Umar Ahmed Umar, the chairman of the Somali Central Bank, speaking at the press conference, said that in order to overcome the financial and money problems in the country the government had decided to open quickly, on 1 July 1990, a new bank called the Commercial Bank of Somalia, with capital amounting to at least 1 billion Somali shillings, 50 percent of which would be paid by the Ministry of Treasury and Finance and 50 percent by the Somali Central Bank. This would be started on 1 July and the government would present the public with (?another) 1 billion [shillings] to provide

shares for the new bank. Then the government will transfer this bank to the private sector and will sell its shares to the public.

Speaking about the reasons for setting up the new Commercial Bank of Somalia, Dr. Umar said this was connected with steps seen as indispensable for solving the money problem in the country. The business to be conducted by the new bank would be that which used to be done by the Commercial and Savings Bank of Somalia which had now been obliged to collect debts until its affairs were settled.

Speaking of the operations of the new Commercial Bank of Somalia, the chairman said it would be based in Mogadishu, and to speed up its work it had been decided to transfer the following three branches of the Commercial and Savings Bank of Somalia: the Kasaballallaare, Hamar Weyne, and the Jawhar branches. All the business of the bank will be conducted according to the new banking laws.

Explaining further the duties of the new bank, Comrade Umar Ahmed Umar said that the new Somali Commercial Bank could only accept cash for current accounts or savings accounts.

The bank was prohibited from accepting travelers checks, checks on current accounts, and transfers from the Somali Commercial and Savings Bank and its branches. The chairman added that the new bank would accept foreign exchange.

The chairman said that the new Commercial Bank of Somalia will pay interest on money after working for six months. It will not give any profits to its shareholders in the first year.

On the lending side, the chairman said that in the first three months it could not lend more than 20 percent. In the first six months it could not lend more than 50 percent based on exports and production.

Asked about the method of paying back people who had deposited money at the Commercial and Savings Bank of Somalia, the chairman said that in July people with (normal depositors and closed deposits) would be paid money amounting to 100,000 or anything less. Those requiring more would be paid 100,000, with 20 percent of the remainder. When 20 percent was given for someone with a lot of money, it was a considerable amount. The balance would be paid back gradual.

He added that for people with travelers checks, current accounts, or foreign exchange, twenty percent would be advanced and the rest would be paid from the collected debts of the Commercial and Savings Bank of Somalia. The chairman said that all the cash to be paid to the people with money deposited at the Commercial and Savings Bank of Somalia would be paid by the Central Bank of Somalia in July.

Rebel Radio Reports Collapse of Mogadishu Bank

EA0806163690 (Clandestine) Radio of the Somali National Movement in Somali 1600 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] The National Bank of Commerce and Savings in Mogadishu has been closed, and it is reported that the closure of the bank was caused by a lack of cash flow. Yes, the bank has been closed, but what is to be the fate of the depositors? The announcement made by dictator Siad to the effect that the bank is closing down and that another bank has been formed is a far-fetched one. The troubled Bank of Commerce and Savings in Mogadishu has been going through a period of uncertainty for some time, and although many promises were made to salvage it and to encourage depositors to invest in the bank, the much dramatized assurances did very little to win back the confidence of depositors. Mismanagement, graft, misuse of public funds, and so forth greatly contributed to the collapse of the bank. Although the closure of the bank is a well-known fact in banking circles in Mogadishu, dictator Siad, as is customary, has rejected reports that the bank has been deregistered. Depositors of the now defunct bank were told that they would be repaid their money in installments.

What caused Big Mouth [afweyne—Siad's nickname] to close the bank? First, it is an undeniable fact that depositors' funds were used to buy arms and prevent his war machine from grinding to a halt. It is sad to learn that depositors' funds were used to suppress and kill their fellow brothers. America's refusal to give financial aid to dictator Siad's government last year dealt the last and the final blow to his shattered economy. Britain and other West European countries who used to give financial aid to the so-called government of dictator Siad followed the Americans and cut off their financial aid. This beggar nation is now left to hop from door to door in Arab countries begging for financial support. The Arabs are also fed up with his ever increasing begging since they also have their own commitments and are not ready to contribute to Siad's war against his own people. The internal conflict and the liberation war being waged by liberation movements in the country have compounded the the dictator's financial crisis.

Dear listeners, the state of insecurity in the capital city of Mogadishu has reached a dangerous level. Lawlessness is bred by many factors, but the increasing pressure on the dictator's economy and the inability of his government to do anything about it causes concern. The rising unemployment and the high cost of living are but some of the factors which have plunged the once peaceful city of Mogadishu into its current state. Things have gotten out of control, and restoring the city back to its former way of life is an impossible task. Now that the Bank of Commerce and Savings has closed its doors and its depositors have lost their money, we wonder what will follow next.

Tanzania

Prime Minister Warioba Meets U.S. Ambassador

EA0606195990 Dar es Salaam External Service
in English 1600 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam—The prime minister and first vice president, Ndugu [Comrade] Joseph Warioba, has said that in the next few years Tanzanians will face the tough national agenda of implementing economic-political reforms. Ndugu Warioba said this during talks with the new U.S. ambassador to Tanzania, Mr. Edmund DeJarnette, when the envoy paid a courtesy call on him at his office in Dar es Salaam.

Ndugu Warioba said Tanzania wants to implement economic and political reforms without disturbing the political and social stability the country enjoys. He said the implementation of such reforms have caused a lot of trouble and at the same time brought instability in some African countries.

On whether the country will continue with one party or multiparty system, the prime minister said that will come of the open debate the party has initiated.

On bilateral relations, Ndugu Warioba said it was important not for the U.S. to look into possibilities of assisting the informal sector more seriously to make it contribute to national development. He said that the government's task now is to make people participate in deciding what projects they want to undertake, and the government will (show) them how best to do it, and not to tell them what to do.

Mwinyi Criticizes Pressure on Political System

EA0506154990 Nairobi KNA in English 0730 GMT
5 Jun 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam 5 June (PANA)—Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has said Western countries' suggestion to make the adoption of multi-party system a pre-condition for economic assistance to the Third World states is an unfortunate idea. He said the multi-party demand by developed countries amounted to both political and economical blackmail of the poor.

In discussions with the vice-president of the European Economic Community (EEC) Manuel Marin at the State House in Dar es Salaam, Mwinyi said it was not proper for external powers to force political standards on others. He said the correct approach was to allow the people of each country to discuss and eventually arrive at their own consensus on what form of government was suitable for them.

Mwinyi pointed out that it could be a suicide exercise to some states to arbitrarily introduce a multi-party system only to deepen social divisions, leading to genocide and confusion.

Nyerere Confident of Mwinyi's Election to Post

EA0606201590 Dar es Salaam External Service
in English 1600 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam—The party chairman, Mwalimu [Teacher] Nyerere, has clarified further on his decision to step down as chairman of the party in August this year. He said when addressing Dar es Salaam regional elders at the Diamond Jubilee Hall that he stayed on as party chairman after stepping down as president in 1985 to facilitate smooth leadership changes. Now that President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has served as president for the first five years, there was no more concern on the leadership changes and, therefore, President Mwinyi could as well be the party chairman.

He said he accepted in 1987 to be elected party chairman because he had observed weaknesses within the party. He told the Dar es Salaam elders that he was confident the extraordinary party conference in August this year will elect President Mwinyi the party chairman and the sole candidate for the presidential election in October.

Mwalimu also cautioned on separating powers at [the] national leadership level, saying that separating powers of the president from that of the party chairman could lead to leadership crisis if the two leaders were not good terms.

He said he could have continued as party chairman until 1992 when his term expires, but there was no need because that concern on the leadership changes was not there anymore. President Mwinyi can as well be the party chairman.

Mwalimu said he would continue to be chairman of the south-south commission until his term of office expires in October this year.

Foreign Minister Botha Rejects UN Interference

MB0806113090 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1100 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] The South African minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, has again rejected any United Nations interference in the internal affairs of South Africa. Mr. Botha has made the rejection in a letter to the secretary general of the UN on the eve of the arrival of a UN delegation in South Africa.

He said there was no necessity to monitor developments in South Africa because it was acknowledged throughout the world that the reform process in South Africa was irreversible.

The government would under no circumstances allow any outside organization to take away the right of South Africans to negotiate by themselves on a new constitution. Steps such as the lifting of the state of emergency deserved encouragement, while interference would only be counterproductive.

Mr. Botha also said in the letter that Africa was on the brink of economic collapse. He called on African leaders to follow South Africa's example and to take steps now to save their countries from permanent poverty.

Mr. Botha said Africa needed urgent and immediate attention to stop decay. Many African countries would soon reach the point where they would not be able to stop decay unless their governments took real action.

Minister Envisages 'Neighborhood Autonomy' Rules

MB0706104490 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN
in English 6 Jun 90 p 4

[Report by Brian Stuart]

[Text] Cape Town—A radical move away from centralised government, with local councils handling such matters as police, schools and health in what he described as "neighbourhood autonomy," has been proposed by Mr. Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice.

"The question is plain and simple: Who understands local needs, fears and values best? The 'brass' in Pretoria or the 'silver' in Cape Town—or the people on the spot," he said.

Mr. Coetsee, a key figure in the reform initiatives of the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, said that local self-determination might be the only way to achieve social stability in a multi-cultural democracy.

The proposals, which he said should be "examined" in South Africa, are in many respects close to the American system, although he did not suggest this country should go so far as to elect the local sheriff or judges.

The speech is seen against the background of the recent statement by Mr. de Klerk that government in the future South Africa must be closer to the people, and move away from considerations of race or colour.

Addressing the annual meeting of the Institute of Town Clerks, being held at George, Mr. Coetsee quoted Mr. de Klerk. In re-examining the role of local government in South Africa, issues now handled by the central government should also be considered.

"It is vital that in the midst of political and economic change, we must look urgently at the speedy implementation of steps which will ensure stability on the local level in particular, as it is fundamentally from this level that basic grievances originate.

"The process of finding a practical model acceptable to all is now under way. In the process of the devolution of power, we must possibly look wider than those matters affecting local administration.

"The possibility must also be investigated as to whether matters such as health, education, transport, elements of policing, justice and imprisonment, to name just a few, should not in one way or another be given to local authorities."

He spoke of the maximum devolution of power and the decentralisation of administration to the local government level, which was where the people could be closest to their own government.

The devolution of authority had as its main aim the reduction of political conflict between population groups at all levels by vesting decision-making on as many issues as possible with the voters and consumers, by power-sharing and joint decision-making, and by cost-effective administration.

Decentralisation promoted grassroots democracy, gave local interest groups direct participation in matters affecting them, and could provide a wider range of services for the specific needs of the local community.

There was a growing tendency among developing as well as industrialised nations towards decentralisation of government. This was a reaction to the development of megalopolis-type authorities that were distant to the municipal voters.

Instead, authority was to some degree transferred to neighbourhood councils, local authorities, regional authorities and national ethnic and economic structures.

Mr. Coetsee referred to the systems of decentralised neighbourhood councils in both Britain and the United States, with the neighbourhood councils operating within the jurisdiction of existing local authorities.

"This, incidentally, is perhaps a system that can be of use in South Africa with its different cultural entities group within the metropolises," he said.

"The future development and extension of neighbourhood councils is seen as inevitable and the primary focus of future local government reform.

"These neighbourhood councils are not only local political bodies. They include all sorts of voluntary community development organisations with advisory or decision-making powers on community planning, welfare, education, culture, health, recreation, traffic control and transport.

The advantages of neighbourhood autonomy were meaningful participation by local people and the political flexibility to accommodate differing community needs. It also acted against authoritarian use of power.

It brought decision-making and execution closer to those directly affected and immediately involved. Urgent development needs could be sooner better and better identified and handled.

"I am convinced that the further devolution of authority functions which are not now handled on local government level in South Africa, can create place for the handling by communities themselves of cultural and community-sensitive issues."

Vlok Seeks Public Support in Quest for Order

MB0906222290 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] The minister of law and order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, says the present political climate has placed greater pressure on the police, but the force will not be politicized to achieve any group's party political goals.

Speaking at Vredendal today, Mr. Vlok said the police were a bastion against crime and violence in the quest for a more stable South Africa:

[Begin video recording] [Vlok] If we want to succeed in answering the challenges put to us by the South Africa of our times and of the future, an obvious partnership between the community and police is of the utmost importance.

We need all the help we can get; we need your understanding and empathy for our difficult task; we need your help in combatting crime.

We don't need vigilante groups; we don't need political interference; most of all, we don't need political organizations abusing us for political purposes. We need the people of this country to support us in our quest for law and order.

[Correspondent Charl Pauw] Mr. Vlok was opening a new police complex at Vredendal, named after the former commissioner, General Hennie de Wit.

He said the partial lifting of the state of emergency would place even greater pressure and responsibility on the police.

Mr. Vlok said the state president's announcement on Thursday [7 Jun] this week had given the police force the means to cope with its increased responsibility. This included an enlargement of the police force and improved service conditions. He trusts it will encourage members of the force who had resigned to rejoin.

He would be making a further announcement next week about details of the pay package. [end recording]

Police Warn Against Unethical TV Coverage

MB0906224690 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Our political news staff reports that a new role is emerging for the South African Police in promoting a stable climate for dialogue where there are clashes between opposing groups or a conflict of interests between employers and employees.

A spokesman for the Office of the Commissioner General of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said that existing legislation would be used to ensure that a new surge of violence wasn't sparked off solely for the benefit of overseas television coverage:

[Begin Correspondent Ossie Gibson video recording] The spokesman said that the removal of restrictions on visual coverage by the media earlier this year and the removal of the state of emergency were aimed at introducing a climate in which a full debate on constitutional matters could be encouraged.

However, the policy of the police towards irresponsible encouragement of incidents which would harm South Africa had not changed. The police could not allow a still volatile situation to be abused by unethical correspondents or fly-by-night TV crews.

The spokesman pointed out that the full range of restrictions relating to media coverage in all areas, except Natal and KwaZulu, had been repealed. This meant that the special powers of the police, in terms of the state of emergency, had also been rescinded and that the same situation applied as before the introduction of the state of emergency. [end recording]

[Video shows "file" footage of TV cameramen filming a Cape Town protest march, East Rand crowds watching a child being burned alive, and Crossroads township police parading protest crowds]

Reactions To State of Emergency Lifting

NP Supports Partial Lifting

MB0706163590 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] The National Party says it supports the announcement by the state president that the state of emergency will no longer apply countrywide.

The chairman of the party's study group on law and order, Mr. Hennie Smit, said in a statement that the decrease in the level of unrest and the changed political situation had made possible lifting the state of emergency, except in Natal, where the level of unrest was still unsatisfactory.

Mr. Smit also praised the sacrifices by members of the police and said the allocation of 644 million rands to improve the police's position showed the government's earnestness in this regard.

Oliver Tambo Reacts

MB0806202290 Luanda ANGOP in French 1930 GMT
8 Jun 90

[Text] London, 8 Jun (ANGOP)—Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa, said he was optimistic about the present phase of the struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa.

Oliver Tambo, who is convalescing after a heart case, described the lifting of the South African state of emergency as encouraging.

During his conversation with Luis Neto Kiembata, Angolan Ambassador to Great Britain, the ANC leader expressed his happiness over the assistance rendered to his movement by the Angolan party and government. He said: "Angola will always be a safe bastion for the liberty of African peoples."

In turn, the Angolan ambassador lauded the tenacity and spirit of sacrifice of ANC militants and other patriotic forces determined to dismantle the apartheid system.

ANC Official Comments

TA0706180890 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English
1700 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Excerpts] South Africa's President F.W. de Klerk today announced the lifting of his country's four-year state of emergency in most parts of South Africa. [passage omitted]

I asked the ANC's [African National Congress] head of information in Johannesburg, (Ahmed Kathrada), who was jailed for life with Nelson Mandela in 1964 and released last year, for the ANC's response to de Klerk's announcement:

[Begin recording] [(Kathrada)] What is significant about the president's speech is what he has not said. He has said not a word about the continued killings by the police, because police killings continue in various parts of the country.

[Anchorman Harley Braidman] Killings of whom?

[(Kathrada)] Killings of blacks, of demonstrators and odd innocent people. That continues. He has said nothing about right-wing violence. He has said nothing about those hit squads, the so-called Civil Cooperation Bureau [CCB], which is under investigation. He has said nothing about those things. He has not even announced the dissolution of that [the CCB], which is an official government body, which has been set up to eliminate opponents. He has said nothing about that. The white right wing is going about freely, preaching racial hatred, anti-Semitism, anti-black, anti-Indian, anti-everything. They parade around with weapons. Nothing is being done.

[Braidman] How do you see events developing in the next few weeks?

[(Kathrada)] Well, we don't know. We are still waiting for the implementation of some of the decisions at the [word indistinct] talks. When and if they are implemented, we'll assess the position.

[Braidman] Decisions such as which?

[(Kathrada)] Well, the question of the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, etc. It's only when those are fulfilled that we'll be able to assess the position. [end recording]

ANC Radio Not Satisfied

EA0906171890 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English
to South Africa 1900 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Compatriots, at twelve o'clock midnight, Friday [8 June], we buried the state of emergency imposed four years ago as part of the war of repression of the apartheid regime against the democratic forces in all parts of our country. But the state of emergency still remains in Natal Province. It is certainly due to the tenacity of the formations of the Mass Democratic Movement and the unflinching determination of our people as a whole to say: Freedom Now, that these draconian measures have come and gone, leaving behind the democratic forces of our country ever more powerful, ever more organized and never so determined to see our country transformed into a democratic entity.

Though the lifting of the state of emergency gives all the people of our country cause to rejoice, the time has yet not come for us to pat each other on the back. The fact of the matter is that the De Klerk regime has not fully met our demand regarding the removal of these vicious and draconian measures. Our demand has always been and remains the total lifting of the state of emergency, not in some parts of our country, but throughout our land. As we stand now, the draconian measures of the state of emergency, which have (empowered) the detention of more than 75,000 activists of the Mass Democratic Movement, which have seen the streets of our country transformed into the killing fields by the apartheid army and the police, still hang like a heavy sword over the formations of the Mass Democratic Movement in the Natal Province.

Daily, compatriots, we still have the task to ensure that this state of emergency, which has meant and symbolized and continues to mean and symbolize repression against those forces struggling for a genuine non-racial democracy in our country, is a thing of the past in this and every [word indistinct] of Africa.

From the outset, let it be stated without hesitation that the state of emergency will contribute nothing to the resolution of the problems in Natal, just as it has only compounded the problems of the country. The state of emergency has been operating in Natal Province for the past four years just like in anywhere else in our country, without

addressing itself to the problems and the violence which is now being made an excuse for its extension.

The fact is violence has increased and [word indistinct] into the present proportion exactly under the regulations of the state of emergency over the past four years in the Natal Province. Even, compatriots, when anyone can give a benefit of doubt on the de Klerk regime by seeing the retention of the state of emergency in Natal as the attempt by his regime to solve the issue of violence tormenting this province in our country, there is no reason why it should not be stated that this outlook of the regime is not only myopic in relation to the problem, but more than that, it is based on the same premise that solutions to problems can still be dictated from above—a very wrong premise which has brought our country to the crisis in which it is today.

On our part, we do not hesitate to state that problems in Natal are as a result of apartheid. It is much more than a just a fight between defiant political organizations. At the root of the problem are socioeconomic structures produced by apartheid and underlined in this situation in which ordinary people are now fighting for scanty resources and facilities which obviously cannot serve them all adequately, thanks to the genius of the architects of apartheid, who have ensured over the decades that not only in Natal, but throughout our country, no attention whatsoever has been paid to the needs of the overwhelming majority of the nation.

It is at the same time equally true that the problem has reached these proportions thanks to the apartheid police and army together with all the [word indistinct] community who have been doing their (?bidding) in the concerted campaign to weaken the national liberation movement and to divert the people from the central task of uniting to do away with the criminal apartheid system. We declare without any apology that the solution to the crisis in Natal in the final analysis (?rests) with the doing away with the apartheid system. (?Yes), it lies in addressing the needs of all the people of our country and not just the white minority.

Yet we remain convinced that something can be done to end this senseless bloodletting. For an end to this carnage, certainly a solution lies not in the draconian measures of the state of emergency that have been and, we know, will continue to be directed at the formations of the Mass Democratic Movement, sparing other political groupings to do as they like. The solution lies not in the police powers to detain only activists of the Mass Democratic Movement, turning a blind eye to other political organizations even when they parade in broad daylight armed to the teeth. Fundamental to the solution lies not in unilateral solutions imposed from Pretoria. [sentence as heard] Such unilateral measures have failed in the past and will continue to fail in the future.

Our demand addressing the scourges in Natal Province is that the police should stop taking sides against the formations of the Mass Democratic Movement. This

situation calls for impartial politics. Related to this demand, we also demand that the regime strip the chief minister of kwaZulu bantustan, Gatscha Buthelezi, of his police powers, as it is obvious he cannot together with the police falling under him act impartially in a situation in which they are involved. Above all, the Mass Democratic Movement and the affected communities have called repeatedly for an independent commission of inquiry which must get to the bottom of this crisis. This demand has been ignored too long now.

The time has come to [word/s indistinct] without delay. The state of emergency cannot solve any problem in the Natal Province, just as it has failed to solve any problem anywhere in our country.

NUM Offices Bombed; No Injuries Reported

MB1006121990 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] A bomb exploded outside the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) offices in Welkom last night causing damage estimated at thousands of rands. No one was injured.

A spokesman for the police public relations directorate in Pretoria, Colonel (Eddie Efferson), said the front part of the building had been destroyed by an explosive device which detonated at about 11:45 PM [2145 GMT]. It had been established that commercial explosives had been used but the amount had not yet been determined. The offices have been cordoned off.

Police Arrest White Miner

MB1106092590 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0923 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] Pretoria, June 11, SAPA—Police have arrested a 30-year-old white mine official in connection with the blast late on Saturday [10 Jun] night at the Welkom offices of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe on Monday issued a statement in which he announced the arrest and said the man is being held in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act. The man is expected to appear in court as soon as possible, Gen. van der Merwe added.

Police also seized an unspecified quantity of commercial explosives.

Police investigations into the incident are continuing, said the statement. No further details were revealed.

Police Report Two Officers Killed in Unrest

MB0806123390 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Two policemen have been killed in unrest. The police public relations directorate said in its latest unrest report that a municipal policeman had been killed at Kagiso, near

Krugersdorp, by unknown persons who opened fire on a municipal police vehicle with an AK-47 rifle.

At Ntuzuma, outside Durban, a police sergeant who was on his way to work has been shot in the back of the head by an unknown gunman.

Both incidents of stone-throwing and arson were also reported.

Police Issue 11 Jun Report on Unrest, Violence

MB1106113290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1116 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] Pretoria, June 11, SAPA—Subs: Herewith the SAP's [South African Police] unrest report for Monday [11 Jun]:

Unrest report:

The following unrest-related incidents were reported during the past 24 hours:

At Kutloanong (Odendaalsrus) a community hall was set alight and extensively damaged by a group of black youths.

At Tafelberg (Table Mountain—Pietermaritzburg) a group of blacks fired a number of shots at another group of blacks. One black man was killed and two others were injured.

At Imbali (Pietermaritzburg) a black man was fatally wounded when he was shot at with a 9mm and .32 pistol. Two youths were arrested.

At Mamelodi (Pretoria) a group of blacks threw a petrol-bomb at a private house. No injuries was reported but damage was caused to the house. One black man was arrested.

At Magabheni (Port Shepstone) a group of black men threw a petrol-bomb at a private house. No injuries but damage was caused to the house. In another incident black men set a private vehicle alight which was extensively damaged.

At Umgababa (Umkomaas) the body of a black man who was shot was found in the river. No arrests were made.

At Nositha (Margate) a black man was stabbed to death with a sharp instrument. His brother who tried to help him was stoned and slightly injured when a group of black men attacked them.

At Caluza (Pietermaritzburg) a group of black men fired shots at a private house. Four people were injured. A black woman is missing.

At Khushawini (Port Shepstone) an adult black male was stabbed to death by a group of black men.

Hand-grenade attack: Molapo (Soweto) 1990-06-10

At about 19:50 a hand-grenade was thrown at the house of a councillor in Molapo, Soweto. No injuries were reported but damage was caused to the house. Police are investigating.

Editorial Comments on U.S. 'Tilt' Toward ANC

MB1006095190 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 10 Jun 90 p 15

["Dateline Washington" column by Simon Barber]

[Text] Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen stunned his audience at a CIA-sponsored conference 10 days ago with his suggestion that the U.S. must "tilt" towards the ANC. He now protests that he was misinterpreted.

By "tilt," he insists, he did not mean the Bush administration should henceforth show bias in favour of the ANC at Pretoria's expense. Rather, he was proposing to recognise the ANC as the most important of the opposition groups willing to negotiate.

Washington could not waste time on those, like the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization], who did not care to come to the table. Furthermore, by making this plain, U.S. policy-makers might even be able to prod such recalcitrants into changing their minds.

Though it will probably do little to improve Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's blood pressure, let us accept Cohen's clarification. Garble it as he might, all he really wanted to say was that U.S. policy must be to encourage everyone into the negotiating process.

As theory, his decoded view is unimpeachable. Given Washington's political status quo, of which Cohen himself is captive, it is also disingenuous. The "tilt" exists. Indeed, it is the centrepiece of the American approach.

U.S. policy—that is to say the general American tendency once all the forces at play on this issue are resolved into a single thrust—is to promote a smooth, rapid, though not necessarily democratic, transition from Nationalist to ANC rule.

This is clear from the way in which the rationale behind U.S. sanctions is not so subtly changing. As it happens, Cohen and the Bush administration are doing precious little to stand in the way.

The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's [CAAA] stated purpose was to encourage an end to apartheid and the start of "genuine" negotiations. Once the groundwork had been laid for the latter—through the release of Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the state of emergency, the removal of restrictions on political discourse, etc.—the sanctions were to start coming off, their job done.

Its purpose serendipitously or otherwise attained, the Act's function is now to reinforce the ANC's constitutional and other demands, however maximalist they may be.

If the Bush administration disagrees with this proposition, then logic and honour require that it fight for the suspension of all the Act's sanctions forthwith. This is especially so now that the state of emergency, as imposed when the Act was passed, has been lifted and the

Government has proved itself more than ready to resolve the issue of political prisoners.

That the administration lacks both honour and logic was amply proved this week by its response to the emergency's lifting.

On the one hand, it said, De Klerk had met "almost all" the conditions laid down by the ANC for fullscale constitutional negotiation. On the other, he was still a couple of conditions shy of satisfying the CAAA.

In other words, the fulfillment of the ANC's terms for negotiation and the CAAA's conditions for the removal of sanctions are not, in the administration's view, coterminous.

To the contrary, Bush and his men effectively concede that even when the serious bargaining begins, sanctions must remain to stack the deck in the ANC's favour.

Were it not for the ANC's tardiness in responding to the Government's proposal on prisoners and its aggressiveness in seeking to rub out Buthelezi's following in Natal, de Klerk would have already fulfilled enough of CAAA's requirements to permit Bush to call for the repeal of sanctions.

As it is, De Klerk had already more than satisfied the Act in spirit. The Administration is simply too craven to acknowledge this. It prefers to cave in to the ANC because of the latter's hold on Congress.

It prefers, therefore, to "tilt."

CAPE TIMES Comments on Public Safety Act

MB0706112090 Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English
5 Jun 90 p 4

[Text] The state of emergency will be allowed to lapse when it expires at midnight on Friday [8 Jun]—and the Public Safety Act will be used to deal with areas such as Natal, where unrest continues, a government source said yesterday.

The emergency has been in force for four years.

The source stressed a final decision would only be taken when the cabinet meets tomorrow, but said: "We don't really need it any more."

Coupled with legislation tabled on Friday—to repeal the reservation of the Separate Amenities Act—the end of the emergency should give a huge boost to President F.W. de Klerk's bid to defuse attempts by Mr. Nelson Mandela to undo what he achieved on his European tour.

Under Section 5(a) of the Public Safety Act the Minister of Law and Order may declare area an "unrest area" if he believes public disturbance, disorder, riot or public violence is occurring or threatening there and additional measures are needed to ensure the public safety.

The declaration remains in force for three months, unless withdrawn by the minister, who may also extend the period with the consent of the State President.

The minister, by notice in the Government Gazette, may make any regulations he deems necessary to ensure order in an unrest area.

The added pressure the lifting of the emergency could put on the police is likely to result in demands for more pay and renewed calls for the force to be enlarged.

From the government's perspective there is much to be gained from lifting the state of emergency.

In particular, it will go a long way to undercutting Mr. Mandela at the start of his six-week European and American tour.

Mr. de Klerk has been at pains recently to point out that the most serious violence in the country at present is "black on black" and that strong measures are needed to control it. It is unlikely that his message would have gone unnoticed during his European tour.

From a United States perspective, one of the remaining requirements of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act which can lead to the end of sanctions is the lifting of the emergency.

Domestically, the lifting of the emergency will also fulfill a further pre-condition to real talks laid down by the ANC [African National Congress] and, if as is understood, some agreement has been reached on the position of exiles and the release of other political prisoners, then the government will be in a position to put pressure on the ANC to get real negotiations started.

In a nutshell, Mr. de Klerk has nothing to lose from ending the state of emergency—and everything to gain.

Dhlomo Discusses Possible ANC-Inkatha Alliance

MB1006114990 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 10 Jun 90 p 2

[Report by Thandeka Gqubule]

[Text] Former Inkatha secretary-general Dr. Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday there was no ideological reason why the Zulu organisation could not enter into an alliance with the ANC [African National Congress].

Dr. Dhlomo, who resigned from the organisation last week to pursue a career outside politics, urged Inkatha to seek alliances with other political groupings if it wanted to play a role in South Africa.

He said he saw himself as playing a conciliatory and mediatory role in South African politics.

"At this stage of our history we need to foster reconciliation between organisations and parties.

"I have given up my membership of Inkatha because I want to be free to make statements no matter whom they hurt."

In his dealings with the ANC leadership in an attempt to secure peace in Natal he found them to be "reasonable people you can work with."

"We had a single objective—the ending of the violence. It is just a pity we were not able to implement the proposals," he said.

On the future of the homeland system, Dr. Dhlomo said he expected present political developments to produce a completely new social and political order.

COSATU Warns De Klerk To 'Rein In' Inkatha

*MB1006121090 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 10 Jun 90 p 4*

[Report by Brendan Seery]

[Text] COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] has warned President F.W. de Klerk that if he does not rein in Inkatha in Natal, he will face strikes and demonstrations around the country in the first week of July.

The union federation says also that the state of emergency should be lifted in Natal because it has been "worse than useless" in curtailing violence in the strife-torn province.

COSATU official Willies Mchunu said this week that if Mr. de Klerk did not take action to end the "reign of terror" being conducted by Inkatha in Natal, country-wide strikes and demonstrations would go ahead at the beginning of July.

Mr. Mchunu, who has just returned from a 10-day visit to the United States to raise support for the union's point of view, said COSATU believed President de Klerk was now the only one who could control the "warlords of Inkatha."

Among other things, COSATU is demanding:

The disbanding of the kwaZulu Police, which COSATU claims is the "armed wing of Inkatha."

The removal of Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi from office as kwaZulu's Minister of Police.

The replacement of the SADF [South African Defense Force] with a force which is "non-partisan."

The whole Bantustan system be "demolished."

That Inkatha "warlords" allegedly guilty of crimes be arrested and brought to trial in a professional manner by the police and officials of the legal system.

The appointment of an independent commission of inquiry into the role of the police in the violence.

ANC, PAC Sign Accord Against Hostilities

*MB0806164590 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1100 GMT 8 Jun 90*

[Excerpt] The branches of South Africa's African National Congress [ANC] and Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] organizations in the Pretoria and Johannesburg areas have agreed to an interim government agreement to end hostilities between themselves.

The agreement was reached after supporters of the ANC and the PAC were involved in three days of fighting last week in which four people, including a baby, were killed in the Johannesburg area. The two organizations said they recognized the need for political tolerance throughout South Africa. [passage omitted]

ANC Statement on Raids on Soweto Houses

*AB0906165090 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English
to South Africa 1900 GMT 8 Jun 90*

[Text] Compatriots, the following now is the statement of the ANC [African National Congress] on the police raids on the houses of comrade Nelson Mandela, the deputy president of the ANC:

The ANC lodges its strongest protest against the unwarranted early morning raids on two houses belonging to its deputy president, comrade Nelson Mandela.

In the early hours of Tuesday morning, 5 June, and at 3:15 a.m. on Wednesday, 6 June, large contingents of police raided three houses in Soweto. All three are occupied by persons who have recently returned from Lusaka with the knowledge and permission of the Pretoria government. Two of the houses belong to the deputy president, comrade Nelson Mandela. They are situated in Orlando West and Dieploof. The third house in (Dume) is occupied by the parents of one of the recent returnees.

All the police were whites and were very heavily armed. They consisted of members of the security police and other branches of the South African police. They knew the occupants of the houses and were fully aware that they had only recently returned to South Africa. The police contemptuously refused to produce a search warrant for all occupants and forced them at gunpoint to stand with their hands up against the wall. The police raid lasted for over an hour.

For police to raid a home of comrade Nelson Mandela, claiming to be looking for a suspected murderer, is the height of provocation. This is particularly so as the police are fully aware that the occupants are ANC members who recently returned to South Africa with the full sanction and knowledge of President de Klerk. There can be no police raid of our people that has taken place in a good spirit. The ANC regards these raids to be in conflict with the rights of the returning exiles and an act against the spirit of the [name indistinct] agreement. We demand that such acts of intimidation and provocation cease immediately.

Issued by the ANC in Johannesburg.

Angola

Cohen Cited on UNITA's Cease-Fire 'Mistake'

MB0706171190 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese
1200 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Herman Cohen, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, said in Havana that Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi made a big mistake by breaking the cease-fire agreed on in Gbadolite.

Herman Cohen, who headed the U.S. delegation to the eighth meeting of the joint tripartite commission for verifying the New York agreements, stressed that President George Bush had personally spoken with the head of the Angolan rebels and advised him to accept the cease-fire immediately.

Cohen, speaking to Angolan journalists in the Cuban capital, said he was sure peace would be restored in Angola, perhaps this year, and hoped that a U.S. representational office would be opened in Luanda soon.

The U.S. official also said during the interview, which Angolan People's Television expects to carry in coming days, that U.S. diplomatic efforts are currently geared toward ending Angola's internal conflict through negotiated settlement.

Herman Cohen said: We are using all the influence we have to get the two sides to reach a cease-fire agreement.

He also said the Bush administration had already urged Savimbi to suspend his acts of aggression and destabilization.

He said: The only valid activity now should be negotiations, which I believe have already begun in good faith; hence, I am optimistic.

The U.S. official did not refer to an end to U.S. military support to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] armed bandits. Herman Cohen implied that the U.S. Administration would continue to send more weapons and shells to UNITA armed bandits to increase the suffering of the Angolan people.

The United States remains the principal culprit in the continuing war in Angola, which has already killed thousands of innocent civilians and has destroyed important economic resources.

Ending U.S. support to UNITA armed bandits is absolutely essential so that the Angolan people can resolve their own problems on their own, without any foreign interference.

UNITA Offers 3-Month Truce To Begin 22 Jun

MB0706073390 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and
Central Africa 0510 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Communique issued by the Political Bureau of UNITA's Central Committee and the Armed Forces Supreme Command in Jamba on 6 June—read by announcer]

[Text] 1. The Political Bureau of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] Central Committee and the Armed Forces Supreme Command met from 5 to 6 June 1990 and made a lengthy assessment of the country's political and military situation.

a. UNITA is pleased with the resounding victories achieved by its Armed Forces against FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] units in Mavinga and the Mukundi-Caiundo axis. The defeats inflicted on the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] forces are definitive and irrefutable. Thus, the MPLA-PT [Labor Party] has lost any significant military initiative in the foreseeable future.

However, UNITA reiterated its profound conviction that peace in Angola depends solely and exclusively on direct and official talks between UNITA and the MPLA-PT. Peace in Angola is an urgent matter concerning all Angolans. Thanks to UNITA's resistance, peace has ceased to be the Luanda government's monopoly.

b. The MPLA has not withdrawn from the Mukundi-Caiundo axis as a gesture designed to facilitate dialogue. Like in Mavinga, MPLA forces have been defeated in Mukundi.

On 4, 5, and 6 June 1990 our forces stationed in the Mukundi-Caiundo area, and in Savate were subjected to intense air strikes carried out by MiG-23's and SU-25's flying from Menongue and Lubango, using toxic weapons dropped at high altitude.

2. Despite our irreversible military victories in Mavinga, and in the Mukundi-Caiundo area, as well as our indisputable nationwide superiority, particularly in central and northern Angola, UNITA is ready and willing to propose a three-month truce with effect from 22 June 1990 in homage to the Gbadolite conference, thus giving the peace process yet another chance.

a. Accordingly, UNITA requests the good offices of Portugal and official mediator President Mobutu of Zaire to get the same honorable undertaking from the MPLA-PT without the need for any negotiations between UNITA and the MPLA-PT because we strongly believe that the MPLA is bogged down by internal differences.

b. UNITA makes a pledge before Angolan and international public opinion, and before Portugal and President Mobutu that it will scrupulously honor its word provided that the MPLA-PT does the same.

3. The Political Bureau of the UNITA Central Committee and the Armed Forces Supreme Command profoundly regret the irresponsible attitude showed by the MPLA-PT and its chairman who, through repeated statements, have continued to slander UNITA as was the case of Luanda radio's 30 May 1990 commentary, the statement made by the MPLA-PT chairman on 1 June 1990 on the occasion of the international day of the child, and the MPLA Political Bureau Declaration issued on 31 May 1990.

Accordingly, UNITA realizes that Jose Eduardo dos Santos is unable to put himself above party intrigue in order to decide on national interests. He prefers to debase himself, engaging in lies and insults as any ordinary MPLA-PT member.

In recognizing Jose Eduardo dos Santos as the Angolan head of state, UNITA intended to put him above the prevailing confusion so that he could act as a catalyst in our country's peace process.

The Political Bureau of the UNITA Central Committee and the Armed Forces Supreme Command have noted that attitude, and as from today, 6 June 1990 UNITA will act accordingly.

Our fatherland free or death. United we shall win.

[Signed] On behalf of the Political Bureau of the UNITA Central Committee and the Armed Forces Supreme Command: Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, president and supreme commander; Engineer Jeremias Kalandula Chitunda, vice president; General Miguel N'Zau Puna, secretary general; General Tony da Costa Fernandes, secretary for foreign affairs; General Arlindo Pena Ben Ben, chief of general staff; General Andrade Chassungo Santos, deputy chief of general staff; General Altino Bango Sapalalo, secretary for military strategy and security; General Isidro Peregrino Wambo Chindondo, chief of military intelligence.

[Issued] Jamba, bastion of Angolan resistance on 6 June 1990—year of the salvation of the fatherland and conquest of democracy.

Cautious Welcome From Luanda

AU0906144490 Paris AFP in English 1013 GMT
9 Jun 90

[Text] Lisbon, June 9 (AFP)—The Angolan government has given a cautious welcome to a three month cease-fire offer from UNITA but insists that the rebel movement reaffirms its recognition of the country's present leadership.

UNITA, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, made the cease-fire proposal Thursday in a statement issued here.

In its response, carried by the official ANGOP news agency and received here Saturday, Luanda said UNITA's offer was in line with its own peace hopes but

added that the "people of Angola want a lasting peace and not just a temporary three-month truce."

UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi, said the cease-fire would take effect June 22, the anniversary of agreements—now suspended—reached in Gbadolite, Zaire, on a peace settlement for the Africa nation's 15-year civil war.

The two sides are expected to resume closed-door talks this month in Portugal.

The Angolan authorities said that UNITA should agree at the talks to discuss setting a date for a permanent cease-fire, and to pledge to abandon 'terrorism' and attacks on Angola's civilian infrastructure. It also added in its communique that the decision to pull back government troops from the Mukundi region close to Angola's border with Namibia towards the northern district of Caiundo was a gesture of goodwill to set the right kind of climate for peace talks. The government also called on Angola to reaffirm its recognition of the Angolan state, its head of state Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and the authority of the Angolan government until elections can be held. ANGOP said these conditions had already been accepted by UNITA, but should be reaffirmed during the negotiations this month.

Further Comments

MB0906211290 Luanda ANGOP in French 2000 GMT
9 Jun 90

[Commentary]

[Text] [no dateline as received] A UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] Political Bureau communique issued on 6 June proposed a three-month truce, beginning 22 June to mark the Gbadolite summit, thus giving the peace process yet another chance.

This communique affords UNITA the chance to appear as if it has not violated the Gbadolite accords, even though Herman Cohen, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, recently confirmed such a violation in Cuba.

Jonas Savimbi's group ironically has pledged before the Angolan people, the international community, Portugal, and President Mobutu that it will scrupulously keep its word.

Considering UNITA's behavior after signing the Gbadolite accords in 1989, who would believe its sincerity now?

Savimbi, an instrument of the United States and other Western warmongering circles, launched a strong propaganda campaign against the mediator, President Mobutu, after signing the accords, renouncing everything he had accepted.

UNITA used the Gbadolite peace prospects to intensify war against the Angolan people in a vain attempt to win

military positions and, thus, exercise pressure on the Angolan Government to abandon its principles.

The UNITA armed group, serving Savimbi, carried out terrorist acts against civilians, murdering old people, women, and children. The Angolan Government's call for peace always meant war to Jonas Savimbi and his collaborators.

The people know the tricks of the apartheid servant and do not believe in his intentions, echoed by his radio, the Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel, installed by the United States.

The Angolan Government peace plan remains valid and is the sole document that will guarantee the Angolan nation's harmonization.

The Angolan Government's flexibility, demonstrated at the beginning of exploratory contacts with UNITA, clearly demonstrates the Angolan authorities' wish for peace, expressed before the national and international communities time and time again.

Contrary to the Angolan Government's goodwill gesture, UNITA intensified its acts against civilians and economic targets, destroying water pipelines, power supply pylons, and hospitals; planting explosive devices in urban centers, injuring civilians; and looting people's goods.

The United States helped UNITA intensify its criminal acts against those living in the country's northern areas. Thousands of weapons arrive in Zaire every day destined for Savimbi's group under the passive eyes of the Zairian Government.

There's no denying the facts. No one believes in UNITA's false goodwill. Gbadolite was an example for the Angolan people.

The three-month truce UNITA announced is no more than a diversionist maneuver to deceive the less attentive observers, because the Angolan people hope for a lasting peace.

The Angolan people and armed forces must continue to be vigilant to foil the enemy's objectives.

The calls by Savimbi's group are no more than a diversionist maneuver by an organization trying to win followers where it has been rejected.

UNITA's treachery against the Angolan people is a truth that cannot be ignored.

FAPLA Claims UNITA To Move Headquarters

*MB0806201090 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese
1920 GMT 8 Jun 90*

[Excerpt] Luanda, 8 Jun (ANGOP)—A FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] General Staff source confirmed in Luanda yesterday that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]

intends to transfer its general headquarters from Jamba to Quimbele, Uige Province, along the border with the Republic of Zaire.

The source also revealed that UNITA has intensified its actions in northern Angola, where it recently attacked isolated villages with a view to creating a buffer zone. The source added: "These actions have been carried out with the knowledge and effective support from the Republic of Zaire."

The source also noted that, in its attack on Soyo oil installations, UNITA was assisted by foreign mercenaries specialized in sabotage. [passage omitted]

*** Floor Fight Erupts at Leadership Conference**

*90AF0131B Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS
in Portuguese 29 Apr 90 p 9*

[Text] Yesterday [28 April] in Lisbon, the first Conference for Angolan Leaders Abroad concluded. Among its final resolutions, the most important were "a common aspiration for peace," the "construction of a platform for harmony" and the "spirit of unity of the Angolan leaders abroad." But on the last day of the conference, something arose which was quite out of keeping with this climate of understanding.

It was about 1800 when one began to notice a lot of coming and going in the aisles, and one could feel that something was going to happen. Representatives from UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], as a sign of protest against what they considered to be "political manipulation of the conference," announced that they would sit "as a body" and "in the front row of the auditorium." However, it was not an easy matter for their presence in the meeting hall to be allowed. For an hour, the representatives of UNITA, among whom was Norberto Castro, their spokesman in Lisbon, began to leave the hall and gather outside the conference center. They were waiting, according to their own words, for a "large delegation." The reasons for the wait, insofar as DIARIO DE NOTICIAS was able to verify, had to do with matters of protocol.

Durao Barroso, the secretary of state for foreign affairs and cooperation, and Ambassador Rui Mingas positioned themselves in the balcony, side by side, but the session did not begin until the representatives from UNITA arrived.

General Tony Fernandes, General Mango Alicerces, Fatima Roque, Norberto Castro, and Carlos de Oliveira Foutoura arrived around 1855 and were received by thunderous applause.

Before the entry into the hall of the UNITA delegation, DIARIO DE NOTICIAS talked with the movement's spokesman, Norberto Castro. We wanted to know the reason behind all this coming and going. The answer was not long in coming. "The presence, on the first day of the conference, of a large delegation from the government of

Angola—namely from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—was nothing but speculation. This conference should have been, from the very first moment, a nonpartisan conference. The fact that they seated the large MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] delegation in a special section caused the UNITA not to be represented in the opening session. For this conference of Angolan leaders in exile, the MPLA wanted to sit as a body."

In fact, the last day of the conference was marked by lots of comings and goings in the aisles, a somewhat "unexpected" fact—as we were able to verify among several factions.

The conference's concluding draft resolutions were presented. There was excitement in the hall. "Old friends" embraced each other. In this sense, the UNITA spokesman told DIARIO DE NOTICIAS that "this beautiful forum for the meeting of Angolans provided an excellent service. It was an opportunity to establish dialogue, to see friends once again that we had not seen for 15 years."

We wanted to know why, since the convention was a "meeting place," the initiative had ended in this way. The fact is that, in spite of the fact that all the different factions pointed out the nonpartisan character of the convention, several communiques were distributed (from UNITA, signed by the hand of Jonas Savimbi, and from the FNLA) and there was visible confrontation—at least on the last day of the conference—between the representatives of the two majority factions in Angola. "One must be careful not to mix conversations with the convention. The one has nothing to do with the other. This rapprochement among men is simply seeking to smooth the way for a rapprochement among institutions," said Norberto Castro.

Another faction heard from by DIARIO DE NOTICIAS—and by civilian society—allowed us to pull the curtain back and reveal the same fear that the conference would be turned into a pawn for political gain. In this regard, Aguiar dos Santos, from the Angolan Civic Association, stated to DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: "We came from Angola with one basic idea—that of making it impossible for anyone to turn this conference into his own political pawn." Our newspaper wanted to know if, in Aguiar dos Santos's opinion, the conference had in fact become a political pawn. His answer was evasive: "There were attempts," he said.

With respect to the role that the Angolan Civic Association plays, its representative stated that "it is not a matter of a political role. We simply want to intercede in the defense of human rights, starting from the principle that democracy is necessary for development."

For Aguiar dos Santos, at this moment, "some hopes of an opening do exist in Angola."

If, on the opening day, one noted that the delegates to the conference were readily available to talk with representatives of the news media, yesterday [28 April], the situation was just the opposite. Journalists had great difficulty getting any statements from the so-called "leading figures." There was nervousness in the air, which is somewhat paradoxical, given the fact that the beginning of talks between the MPLA and the UNITA had been announced shortly beforehand.

The conference ended—a little later than had been expected—and once again the nervousness and a certain confrontation were visible. The journalists rushed to accompany the UNITA delegation. Gen. Tony Fernandes refused to make any comments to reporters. When pressed by DIARIO DE NOTICIAS, he merely stated: "Maybe later at dinner. Not now, because Cardinal Alexandre do Nascimento has asked me to talk with him."

Cardinal Alexandre do Nascimento had previously made a statement in which he stressed: "I came here full of hope, but I did not come without misgivings."

The cardinal observed: "Compatriots! Allow me to use an expression that is much used nowadays in cycling: We meet on the final straightaway. Peace, which has an impact on everything else in Angola, and which is awaited so anxiously by us all—peace is not just the silencing of the machine guns and other weapons. It is more than anything else a work of justice."

Meanwhile, the conference drew to a close. The hall was empty. Only a few people remained behind, among them, Ambassador Rui Mingas. Taking advantage of the moment of calm, DIARIO DE NOTICIAS approached the diplomat with the question: "What is the reason behind the events that happened here today? Why all these last minute comings and goings?"

Rui Mingas, frequently speaking on a personal level, told DIARIO DE NOTICIAS that "states, whoever they may be, are always represented by their entities. The government of Portugal is always represented by Portuguese authorities. We do the same thing. I regret that there is an attempt in Portugal to turn everything that has to do with Angola into a political pawn."

Could this reference be a criticism of the Portuguese position in the negotiating process which is now under way? Rui Mingas said no. "Portugal is a very important partner in this process. Next to the Angolans, the Portuguese are the ones who have the best grasp of Angola's problems. There is a very important affective relationship involved here."

On the other hand, the ambassador did not fail to point out: "A delegation from the People's Republic of Angola was represented here, not a delegation from the MPLA," adding, when further prodded by our reporters, that "no relationship exists between this conference and the announcement of direct talks between the MPLA and UNITA."

*** Independent Movement Reveals Peace Proposal**

90AF0090A Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese
12-19 Apr 90 p 22

[Article by Francisco Vale]

[Text] "In Cape Verde, our proposal of recourse to the nation has just been given its necessary African dimension," Adolfo Maria told O JORNAL. He and Mario de Andrade and Gentil Viana have been in contact with the principal leaders of the PAICV [African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde] in the city of Praia with a view to presentation of a proposal for mediating the Angolan conflict.

The authors of the Proposal for Recourse to the Nation for Peace in Angola, who are veterans of the liberation struggle and were expelled from the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] in 1976 because of their criticisms of the regime within the context of the now extinct Active Revolt, met with President Aristides Pereira in Praia. Earlier, they had met with the deputy secretary general of the PAICV and prime minister, Pedro Pires, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Silvino da Cruz. These talks were of particular interest because of the fact that Cape Verde is this year heading the coordination of the five African countries in which Portuguese is the official language, and it has announced a process of transition toward "multiparty democracy." Meetings were also held with the ambassadors from the USSR, Cuba, and the United States.

In a communique dated 30 March, the PAICV promised to "look deeper into the mediation proposal presented."

Adolfo Maria believes that "the coming months will be very difficult, because both the MPLA and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] are seeming to pursue a path toward a cease-fire, but there are obvious preparations for a resurgence of the war now that the end of the rainy season is approaching."

Thus an "Appeal to the Intentions of the Chiefs of State" of Angola, South Africa, Cuba, the United States, and the USSR has also been drafted in Praia.

The proposal urges "recourse to the nation," in such a way as to promote participation in the peace process by individuals who have thus far not been involved in the conflict, and who have maintained their distance from the MPLA and the UNITA and the leading powers involved. The proposal calls for the creation of a body made up of Angolan citizens of known prestige who are characterized by ethical positions and a will to act which will ensure that they are accepted by all. The choice would be made on the basis of names proposed by the MPLA and the UNITA and by the citizens of Angola. This Supreme Council for Peace and National Reconstruction would undertake consultations and draft proposals until a final platform is established such as to guarantee reasonable satisfaction of all interests, taking the interests of the Angolan nation into account.

This proposal is apparently at cross-purposes with the more recent development of the external coordinates of the conflict since the signing of the Gbadolite Accords, in which connection there has been obvious difficulty in finding a mediator acceptable to all of the interested parties, because of the involvement of Zaire in supporting UNITA.

Direct Talks?

Eduardo dos Santos has just proposed "direct talks" based on acceptance by UNITA of the legitimacy of the Angolan Government.

Luanda does not acknowledge the possible participation of "independent Angolans," and there are even MPLA sectors concerned about the emergence of a "third force" as a part of the Angolan Civic Commission of Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, who has been following the initiative being pursued by his brother Mario de Andrade, Gentil Viana, and Adolfo Maria. He says, however, that "seeking a third way is dangerous, because this would be one more factor in destabilization, when what is needed is to combine efforts."

UNITA is agreeable to direct talks, and has abandoned its demand that the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces be withdrawn from the occupied zones in Cuito-Mavinga. Savimbi's position, however, remains ambiguous, with its reference to recognition of the Angolan state based on the Alvor Accords, and its conditioning acceptance of the agreements concluded by Luanda in the last 15 years on "the holding of free and just elections which can be verified by an international body." And in a move which is understandable for a force which has been harmed by its past commitments, and which is seeking political legitimacy, UNITA speaks of its interest in the "participation of moral Angolan individuals."

The proposal for "Angolan mediation" culminates a period of cautious activity.

Gentil Viana and Adolfo Maria were arrested by the MPLA in 1976. Mario de Andrade was at that time a minister in Guinea-Bissau. Released in 1979, they went to Portugal, withdrawing into a silence which can be explained by the political rigidity of the Angolan situation. In March of 1989, they organized as a group for contemplation, and they drafted a memorandum in which they set forth an analysis of the existing forces and warned of the risk of the partition of Angola. In that same year, this document was submitted to President Eduardo dos Santos through Aristides Pereira.

Three months after the drafting of this petition to the government, the Gbadolite meeting occurred, and the proposal submitted proved to be feasible. The resumption of the war led the authors of this document to present President Aristides Pereira with a synthesis of the reasons Angolan mediation of the conflict was advisable. At that time, the conference of Portuguese-speaking

African countries was meeting in Praia, and the president of Cape Verde submitted the document to Eduardo dos Santos. After returning to Luanda, he responded that the document was of interest, although no political conclusion was derived from this statement.

Last January, Mario de Andrade and Gentil Viana met with Mario Soares, who was setting off for Africa. Then, through ambassador Rui Mingas, the three authors of the proposal informed Eduardo dos Santos of the decision they had reached with Savimbi during his visit to Lisbon. Probably as a result of the fact that no welcome was given Savimbi, the leadership of the PS [Socialist Party] proposed a meeting the following week, which was attended by Jorge Sampaio and Manuel Alegre, together with Mario de Andrade, Gentil Viana, and Adolfo Maria. Later meetings they sought with the PSD [Social Democratic Party] and the CDS [Social Democratic Center Party] led to talks with delegations from those parties headed by Cavaco Silva and Freitas do Amaral.

Only the meeting with the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] has not as yet been held, despite a "fruitful" talk which took place between Carlos Brito and Mario de Andrade. There is every indication that the communists decided on an attitude of "wait and see" when the tensions between the MPLA and the Cubans became evident.

Mozambique

Renamo Agrees To Hold Peace Talks in Malawi

MB0606151790 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
1500 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Communique issued by the president's office; date and place not given]

[Text] In the wake of efforts by the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, under the leadership of President Joaquim Alberto Chissano, for peace in the country and thanks to the good offices of Malawian life President Dr. Kamuzu Banda and the Malawian Government, as well as Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi and Zimbabwean President Robert Gabriel Mugabe in their capacity as mediators, Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] has accepted the proposal put forward by the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique that Malawi be the venue for Mozambican Government-Renamo talks to end violence in Mozambique, to establish peace, and to normalize the lives of all Mozambicans.

The Malawian Government conveyed Renamo's acceptance to the Mozambican Government. The date of the meeting will be announced at a later stage.

[Johannesburg Domestic Service in English at 0900 GMT on 8 Jun confirms this and goes on further to say that Chissano has "promised to implement a new constitution" and to consider a multiparty democracy]

Chissano Urges Renamo To Heed Calls for Peace

MB1006111690 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
1030 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Mozambican President Joaquim Alberto Chissano said in Maputo today that he hopes the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] leadership will listen to the voices of the Mozambican people and government so peace talks can begin as soon as possible.

However, President Joaquim Chissano said that some of Renamo's leaders provide disinformation to the international community, arguing against dialogue and offering various reasons to prevent talks from starting.

The Mozambican head of state made these statements this morning when trees were planted at Maputo city's Peace Park to mark AMASP's [Mozambican Association for Friendship and Solidarity With the Peoples] 10th anniversary.

President Joaquim Chissano recalled that after lengthy negotiations, Renamo accepted Malawi as the venue for peace talks.

We have known for a while that Renamo had accepted Malawi as the venue, but we also took a while making sure of that information through the Malawian Government, the Mozambican head of state explained.

In addition to President Joaquim Chissano, this morning's treeplanting ceremony was attended by AMASP officials, representatives of the diplomatic corps in Mozambique, and hundreds of residents from areas around Peace Park.

[Begin Chissano recording] We planted the first tree here 10 years ago. Its meaning was that we wanted to create a garden for peace in our country and the world at large. By creating this park, this garden with trees, we wanted to convey the Mozambican people's desire to be at peace with the other peoples of the world. We had in mind a park in which children and their families could rest and play.

We thought of a park that would begin here and extend to every part of the city where it could grow. [end recording]

Ivory Coast

'Sources' Report Replacement of Chief of Staff

AB0706190490 Paris AFP in English 1854 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Abidjan, June 7 (AFP)—The chief of Ivory Coast's general staff and his deputy were replaced Thursday, official sources said.

Colonel Robert Guei replaced General Felix Ory whose deputy, General Gustave Houphouet Koasi, was given other, non-specified, functions, they said.

Colonel Guei was commander of the Korhogo Military Region, 600 kilometres (400 miles) north of Abidjan.

The colonel's promotion to the top military post surprised observers, as the Ivory Coast has a number of other generals. But it follows mutinous demonstrations by soldiers last month.

Liberia

Coverage of Rebel-Government Negotiations

Government Ready to Talk

AB0806184590 Paris AFP in English 1835 GMT
8 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Monrovia, June 8 (AFP)—The Liberian Government said Friday it was ready to hold talks with rebels seeking to oust President Samuel Doe on a peace plan submitted by the country's religious groups. Information Minister Emmanuel Bowier told a news conference here officials had accepted all the proposals presented to Mr. Doe Thursday by the Liberia Council of Churches and the Muslim Council and were ready to meet the National Patriotic Front (NPFL) at the negotiating table.

The religious groups called for a cease-fire to be monitored and supervised by an "accepted neutral body," preferably the United Nations, and a roundtable discussion on "neutral ground," without giving details. The plan also called on the government to give maximum protection to Mano and Gio tribesmen accused of being rebels and hunted down by soldiers. In addition, the NPFL should agree to protect members of Mr. Doe's Krahn tribe and Moslem traders of the Mandingo group accused of sympathizing with the government in rebel-held areas.

Meanwhile, in a letter to Mr. Doe, U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said the United Nations would agree to monitor a cease-fire, roundtable discussions with all parties in the conflict, and the setting up of free and fair elections. The Liberian president had written to Mr. Perez de Cuellar to request U.N. participation. [passage omitted]

Rebels Ready To Meet

AB0906101290 Paris AFP in English 0957 GMT
9 Jun 90

[Text] Buchanan, Liberia, June 9 (AFP)—National Patriotic Front (NPFL) rebels are ready to hold talks with the Liberian government on peace proposals submitted by the country's religious groups, rebel leader Charles Taylor told journalists here late Friday.

"We agree to send a delegation, on condition that President (Samuel) Doe, the vice president and the defense minister will leave," he said, adding: "Nothing can be done without us."

Talks To Be Held in Freetown

AB0906162690 Paris AFP in English 1623 GMT
9 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Monrovia, June 9 (AFP)—The Liberian Government and the rebel National Patriotic Front (NPFL) on Saturday agreed to hold roundtable discussions in Freetown, Sierra Leone to negotiate a "peaceful settlement" to their six-month war, a Liberian churches statement said.

The statement from the Liberia Council of Churches, which along with the West African country's Muslim Council proposed a peace plan Thursday, did not give a date for the talks.

But state radio announced that the talks between the NPFL rebels and the government will begin next week in Freetown. [passage omitted]

Taylor Confirms Participation

AB0906192590 Paris AFP in English 1917 GMT
9 Jun 90

[Text] The leader of the Liberian rebels, Charles Taylor, confirmed late Saturday that his National Patriotic Front of Liberia would send a delegation for talks with the government to be held in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Mr. Taylor was speaking to journalists here in the mining port of Buchanan, 120 kilometres (75 miles) east of the capital Monrovia, where the rebels have set up headquarters. He said that the NPFL delegation would be led by one of the Front's leaders, Tom Woewiyu.

Rebel Leader Presents 'Modalities'

AB0906203590 Paris AFP in English 2010 GMT
9 Jun 90

[Text] However, Mr. Taylor added that the talks should be limited to modalities of a ceasefire and the departure of Liberian President Samuel Doe and his team. He said Mr. Doe had to leave, and the rebels would not go back on that position. He said that if Mr. Doe wanted to meet with him, he should come to "Buchanan or Kakata, wherever I happen to be."

The group of journalists included an AFP correspondent.

Mr. Taylor said that in addition to Mr. Woewiyu, the delegation would include several important Front members. He did not indicate the date of the talks.

He said his troops had regained control of the Firestone Plantation, and would try to evacuate the Americans still there, starting Saturday evening, sending them to Buchanan or Kakata, two towns controlled by the Front. He added that his forces were getting ready to attack the Robertsfield airport.

Council of Churches To Mediate

*AB0906181690 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1710 GMT 9 Jun 90*

[Text] The Government of Liberia and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia have agreed to meet at a roundtable conference to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the current crisis in the country. According to the Liberian Council of Churches, which is serving as mediator between the government and the Patriotic Front, the negotiation will take place in Freetown, Sierra Leone, next week. Attending the negotiations will be the Liberian Council of Churches represented by the Reverend J. K. Leevee-Moulton, president of the Liberian Council of Churches; Bishop Michael K. Francis of the Catholic Church; and Bishop Ronald J. Diggs of the Lutheran Church in Liberia.

Also associating with the Liberian Council of Churches in the mediation of the conflict in Liberia, will be Reverend Canon Burgess Carr, former secretary general of the All-African Council of Churches. The Liberian, who recently wrote to the president, Dr. Samuel Kanyon Doe, offered himself as a mediator to try and bring about a cessation of hostilities and initiate negotiations that would assist in achieving peace in Liberia.

President Doe thanked Canon Burgess Carr for offering to help resolve the crisis, and referred Canon Carr's letters to the Liberian Council of Churches.

Meanwhile, it has been announced by the Executive Mansion that the Government of Liberia will be represented at the negotiations in Freetown, Sierra Leone, by Senator Tambakai Jangaba, president pro tempore of the Liberian Senate; Justice Minister Jenkins Scott; Information Minister Emmanuel Bowier; and Acting Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, (Elford Dunn). Up to press time, there was no information regarding the composition of the delegation from the National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

Acceptance of Conditions Unclear

*AB1006074490 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
2210 GMT 9 Jun 90*

[Text] In the wake of the Liberian Government's willingness to negotiate with the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] in Freetown next week, it is not yet clear

whether the conditions announced earlier today by NPFL leader Mr. Charles Taylor before he would agree to the peace talks have been accepted by the Liberian Government.

Speaking to reporters at the rebel headquarters in Buchanan, Mr. Taylor said he would negotiate a cease-fire with the Liberian Government only if President Samuel K. Doe, his vice president, and his defense minister agreed to leave the country. Mr. Taylor was responding to an offer from the Liberian Government in Monrovia which yesterday said it was ready to accept a peace plan worked out by religious leaders in Liberia.

Government Delegation Leaves for Talks

*AB1106084690 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
0709 GMT 11 Jun 90*

[Excerpts] The special negotiations team to Freetown, Sierra Leone, leaves this morning aboard a special flight. The Government of Liberia made the announcement yesterday in the wake of negotiations package offered to both the National Patriotic Front of Liberia and the Government of Liberia to negotiate a peaceful settlement to the ongoing crisis in the country.

Making the offer, the Liberian Council of Churches [LCC], in a three-count proposal to President Doe, called for an immediate ceasefire, a round-table conference, and the assurance of internal security by both government and the National Patriotic Front. The Government of Liberia welcomes the proposals.

Although the Liberian Government has welcomed the mediation efforts by the religious leaders and is ready and prepared to negotiate a peaceful settlement, it is not clear whether government has accepted the conditions for a ceasefire laid down by the leadership of the National Patriotic Front. [passage omitted]

Members of the delegation for government include the president pro tempore of the Liberian Senate, Tambakai A. Jangaba, the justice minister, Jenkins Scott, information minister, J. Emmanuel Bowier, and the managing director of the Liberia Free Zone Authority, (Gbai Gbala). The Liberian Council of Churches will be represented by the LCC president, Leevee Moulton, Bishop Michael Francis of the Catholic Church, and the Lutheran Church bishop, Roland Diggs among others. It is not yet clear who the representatives of the National Patriotic forces will be.

Rebel Negotiator Leaves for Meeting

*AB1106090490 Paris AFP in French 2216 GMT
10 Jun 90*

[Text] Buchanan (Liberia), 10 Jun (AFP)—Tom Woewiyu, who will lead the delegation of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] at the Freetown negotiations with the government, left here yesterday for the Sierra Leone capital via Abidjan, according to NPFL

sources. This evening, Mr. Woewiyu's precise whereabouts were unknown. He left Buchanan by car yesterday afternoon for Abidjan, that is a distance of about 700 km, one-third of which is laterite road. As of this evening, he had not yet reached the Ivorian border, a friend of his told AFP by telephone.

The rebel military leader, Charles Taylor, announced last night that he agreed to negotiations, adding however that such negotiations would only be held if President Doe and his team give up power to the NPFL and should touch on a cease-fire.

The government delegation, meanwhile, is due to leave Monrovia for Freetown tomorrow along with three officials of the Liberia Council of Churches, official sources announced this evening in the Liberian capital. Washington had indicated that talks could begin tomorrow at the U.S. Embassy in Freetown.

Evacuation of U.S. Nationals to Abidjan Begins

AB1006114090 Paris AFP in English 1135 GMT
10 Jun 90

[Text] Monrovia, June 10 (AFP)—A specially-chartered plane began evacuating U.S. nationals from Liberia on Sunday, a day after rebels offered to negotiate with the government of President Samuel Doe, correspondents reported.

A plane chartered from Air Guinea, took off in mid-morning from James Spriggs Payne airport with 120 Americans on board, including children born of U.S. parents.

The plane, which was ferrying the Americans to Abidjan, was due to make two return trips on Sunday.

The rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia said they would only negotiate with Mr. Doe on condition that he and his team step down.

Ghana Airways Evacuates Its Citizens

AB1006173990 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 10 Jun 90

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] As you may just have heard in the World News, plans to evacuate foreign nationals from Liberia have gone ahead in spite of yesterday's announcement by the Monrovia government that peace talks with the rebels are due to begin in the next few days. The American Government has begun ferrying some 200 of its citizens to Abidjan, the Ivory Coast, in a chartered aircraft; and a Ghana Airways plane has evacuated about 160 Ghanaians. American and British naval vessels are standing off the Liberian coast to evacuate other foreign nationals if necessary.

During the six months of civil war, an estimated 10,000 Liberians have fled across the border into Sierra Leone,

and the Sierra Leone Red Cross has now issued an appeal for homes to house the refugees.

The Pope has meanwhile appealed for peace in Liberia. Speaking to pilgrims in the Vatican, he asked both sides to lay down their arms. The peace talks arranged by Liberian religious leaders are expected to be held in Sierra Leone.

Travelers Say Liberian Troops 'Running Wild'

AB0706163590 Paris AFP in English 1617 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Abidjan, June 7 (AFP)—Hundreds of expatriate businessmen and missionaries were leaving conflict-ridden Liberia, but plan to return to the West African country "when the dust settles," travellers said here Thursday.

"Everybody's getting out now," two American missionaries who asked not to be identified told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE on arrival at the international airport here from Monrovia's Spriggs Payne Airport.

They said the capital Monrovia was basically calm Thursday, but that tension was running high in anticipation of a rebel attack and further murders by government troops against Gio and Mano tribesmen accused of supporting rebels.

"There are lots of soldiers around, but they are doing everything but protect the people," the missionaries, who booked a return ticket, said. "They (troops) are running wild."

Many of the 126 people who arrived aboard Air Guinea's packed Boeing 737 carried two or three pieces of baggage, and despite their late departure from the country rocked by a six-month-old rebellion, appeared to want to return as soon as possible.

"I left Monrovia, but I plan to return in six months or as soon as the dust clears," said businessman Douglas Atchison, who was on his way home to Canada.

Dozens of Lebanese and Indian businessmen were also on the flight.

For Al Karlay, a 30-year-old Liberian American from Los Angeles who had to cut short a three-week visit with his family in Liberia, life has already become somewhat more "normal" because of U.S. Marines positioned off the Coast of Liberia.

U.S. officials say Marines, aboard four Navy ships, are awaiting instructions to help evacuate Americans still in the country should the need arise.

Mr. Karlay, who lived in Liberia until age 20, is confident that President Samuel Doe will "give up for the sake of peace," making way for an interim government and upcoming general elections.

He said he was able to walk around freely in Monrovia without problems, even at night.

A small private Cessna-Bechcraft owned by the Weasua Company meanwhile had evacuated Citicorp Bank employees to Abidjan earlier Thursday.

The two planes were guided by air traffic controllers in Freetown, Sierra Leone, as workers at Robertsfield, Liberia's only international airport 55 kilometers (35 miles) east of Monrovia, cut off contact with airplanes flying over the Gulf of Guinea on Thursday.

The controllers at Robertsfield normally direct 60 planes a day, many of them flying from Southwest Africa to Western Europe and between Latin America, West Africa and the Middle East.

Liberian rebels led by former government official Charles Taylor and seeking to oust President Samuel Doe have surrounded the airport. Air Guinea is the only commercial carrier still operating in Liberia.

U.S. officials late Wednesday said they would also help evacuate Soviet nationals, while Bonn announced Thursday that it was moving to evacuate 220 West German citizens in Liberia.

Final Offensive Within Days Unless Doe Resigns

AB1106112090 Paris AFP in English 1108 GMT
11 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 11 (AFP)—Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor told President Samuel Doe in an interview published here Monday to step down now or the National Patriotic Front [NPFL] will launch its final offensive on the capital "within days." Mr. Taylor, whose forces are closing in on Monrovia after six months of civil war, told the French daily LE FIGARO that he had agreed to discuss a ceasefire "only to avert a blood-bath" and to spare the lives of civilians."

"I am prepared to accept a ceasefire but there is no question of discussing anything else.... My goals are fixed and will not be changed: Samuel Doe must go, the vice-president must go, (Chief of Staff) General Henry Dubar must go." The rebel leader said President Doe, who has refused to meet Mr. Taylor "wants to talk to the NPFL without me. That is a joke. No one here will negotiate with the government without my agreement."

Mr. Taylor denied reports of dissension within the NPFL leadership, which he said had been put about by Mr. Doe "to destabilise us." He said if President Doe stepped down, the NPFL would "revise the constitution. At the outset, Samuel Hill, the present parliamentary speaker will take over as interim head of state. Then a transition government will be set up exclusively made up of NPFL members. At a later date, free elections will be organised." He did not reply when asked what would happen if the NPFL lost the election.

Mr. Taylor, interviewed in the port of Buchanan after spending three days inspecting his troops, said he was "losing patience" with President Doe and warned that the rebels would not remain inactive much longer.

He said President Doe had "very little time" left to make his exit. "If the initial talks are unproductive, things will go very fast. We will head straight for Monrovia...I am not speaking in terms of weeks but of days, a few days."

Asked about excesses attributed to NPFL soldiers, Mr. Taylor said such abuses were "deplorable" but were the "bad side of our popular uprising." He said Liberia was in the midst of a "civil war" in which "whole families have been massacred by Doe." Many of his men "want to take revenge and excesses sometimes occur.... We are doing our best to avoid them and to control the situation. I am in the process of setting up a military police force."

NPFL Secretary General on Rebel Factions

AB0706210090 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 7 Jun 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Well, despite their claimed successes in the field, there are persistent reports of splits and factions within the National Patriotic Front [NPFL], with stories of clashes between the supporters of Charles Taylor and of Prince Johnson. But the key to healing such rifts may lie with a man called Moses Duopu, who claims he is the secretary general of the NPFL.

The organization was founded by General Thomas Quiwonkpa, who himself tried to overthrow President Doe in 1985. Robin White has been speaking to Mr. Duopu, who is presently in Lagos, although planning to return to Liberia shortly, and he asked him if his relations with Charles Taylor were difficult:

[Begin recording] [Duopu] Not at all, not at all. I do not believe. And there is no split between Charles Taylor and myself. There has been no quarrel. There has been no condition under which we have differences. But we have all formulated a program within a framework in which we all work. And we have been in the past very satisfied with one another.

[White] There have been reports of fighting inside Liberia itself between various factions in the Patriotic Front. Is that true or not?

[Duopu] Well, I have learned about these problems as well, and it is a sad situation. These are all my brothers, Taylor is, Prince is, and all those who are concerned are all my brothers. We are very close, and we understand one another, and I really relate to them very well. That is the reason why I have suspended this tour and I am reaching to them [words indistinct]. Hopefully, by God's grace, I shall be with them in the next few days.

[White] But who has been fighting whom?

[Duopu] There has been some factional fighting among Mr. Taylor-led forces and that of Prince Johnson, as I understood. Perhaps [there] is another element there that I did not know of and maybe you will tell me. However, of these two factions, if they hear or regret the fact, perhaps there is a policy matter or perhaps there is a question of communication gap, and that we will bridge, and we will make sure that unity is rebuilt so that we can complete the job for which the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, under the leadership of the late commander general, Thomas J. Quiwonpka, died for. [sentence as heard]@ And this is the last of our cause which we must fulfill. This is the cardinal cause for the Liberian people and this is why our brothers are shedding their blood for that cause. And we are completely committed to that, to bring freedom and democracy, and a whole lot of new life for our people.

[White] Which faction are you in? Are you in Prince Johnson's faction or Charles Taylor's faction?

[Duopu] Well, I dismiss that. With me, nothing will mean in terms of which faction I can be in. [sentence as heard] I am the secretary general of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia. I cannot [words indistinct] stoop down for any faction, if there is any, I repeat that. I believe that there should not be factions in the organization. If there is any discrepancy in terms of understanding, if there is any problem at any level, whether high or low, I think it can be resolved amicably. And this is why I, as the secretary general, I must move in to begin to communicate, and to begin to meet with my colleagues and to find out from them what has happened so that they can brief me, because I do not know the precise definition of what has happened until I get in there. [end recording]

Information Minister Bowier Reports on Fighting

AB0806191090 Paris AFP in English 1906 GMT
8 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Monrovia, June 8 (AFP)—[passage omitted] At Friday's news conference, Mr. Bowier also said there was shooting in Bomi County, 110 kilometers (70 miles) west of here when troops tried to remove road block set up by the rebels. He did not say when the fighting took place or if there were casualties.

Mr. Bowier said government troops were in full control at Robertsfield, the country's only international airport 55 kilometers (35 miles) east of here, and denied that rebels had ever entered the airport. He admitted rebels had entered the Firestone rubber plantation but said government forces crushed them Thursday and remnants of the rebels fled in disarray.

Mr. Bowier said Italian diplomats reported that three embassy vehicles had been captured by people believed to be rebels in the Bong mine area. [passage omitted]

Taylor Backs Samuel Hill as Interim Head of State

AB0906114490 Paris AFP in English 1137 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Buchanan, Liberia, June 9 (AFP)—National Patriotic Front (NPFL) rebels are ready to hold talks with the Liberian Government on peace proposals submitted by the country's religious groups, rebel leader Charles Taylor said here late Friday.

"We agree to send a delegation, on condition that President (Samuel) Doe, the vice president (Henry Moniba) and army chief of staff Henry Dubor will leave," he said, adding: "Nothing can be done without us."

Mr. Taylor a 42-year-old former government official who fled Liberia in 1984 after authorities in Monrovia charged him with embezzlement, said they would only discuss a ceasefire with the government, but not the West African country's political future.

In Monrovia, Information Minister Emmanuel Bowier on Friday said the government was ready to meet the rebels and had accepted all the proposals presented to Mr. Doe on Thursday by the Liberia Council of Churches and the Muslim Council.

The religious groups called for a ceasefire to be monitored and supervised by an "accepted neutral body," preferably the United Nations, and a round table discussion on "neutral ground."

The plan also called on the government to give maximum protection to the Mano and Gio Tribesmen accused of being rebels and hunted down by soldiers.

In addition, the NPFL should agree to protect members of Mr. Doe's Krahn tribe and Moslem traders of the rebel-held areas.

In response to the proposals, Mr. Taylor said parliamentary speaker Samuel Hill should become interim head of state in a transitional civilian government composed of NPFL members and "other competent" individuals.

He said the Constitution should be altered, but did not say how, and that free elections should follow, but did not say when.

On fighting with government troops this week, Mr. Taylor said he recognized that his forces had experienced setbacks, in particular by losing control of the Firestone Rubber Plantation 50 kilometers (30 miles) from Monrovia Thursday.

He said the plantation was the biggest in the world and difficult to defend, but the NPFL had control of the nearby town of Harbel, where the plantation's headquarters are based.

He said his forces had pulled out of the Firestone and were regrouping to launch another attack.

Envoy to Lagos Urges Peace-Keeping Mission

AB0906140390 Dakar PANA in English 1214 GMT
9 Jun 90

[Text] Lagos, 9 June (NAN/PANA)—The Liberian ambassador in Nigeria, Dueh Chieh, on Friday in Lagos, called on the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] and OAU to step up their mediation efforts to end the war in his country, but dismissed widespread reports that President Samuel Doe was seeking political asylum abroad. He also accused some African countries of encouraging and arming the Charles Taylor-led dissidents in the war against the Monrovia administration.

Chieh said that in the spirit of African unity and the survival of the continental and sub-regional organisations, efforts should be made for an immediate ceasefire. He added that if possible, a peace-keeping mission should be sent to Monrovia to end the war which, he said, ought to have ended soon after it started in December 1989 but for the external support the rebels had continued to receive.

He categorically accused Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia's neighbor, of providing a base for the rebels, and Libya and Burkina Faso for supplying arms to them. The envoy explained that his country had sent several delegations to the Ivorian capital on the issue to no avail, adding that at the instance of Nigeria and Togo, a peace meeting was held in the Togolese capital, which brought together Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire to try and settle the matter, but that the situation had not changed.

He also believes that ECOWAS has not done enough on the matter, saying that apart from the initiative by Nigeria at the last Banjul summit of the organisation to set up a mediation committee, not much had been heard on the issue. "If we believe in African unity and sub-regional integration we should try even without being asked to help a neighbour whose house is on fire. We said, adding that such a passive attitude could encourage dissidents in other parts of Africa, and defeat the spirit of good neighbourliness and African unity."

On the reported plan by President Doe to go on self-exile, Chieh said, "President Doe as a commander in chief of the Liberian Armed Forces had pledged to remain in Liberia." The envoy, who said he was in touch with Monrovia, stressed that the Liberian capital was "calm," even though the war had affected economic activities in the country, especially the fate of iron ore, the country's major export.

He also repudiated the report that Liberia's major Robertsfield International Airport and the country's major rubber plantation had fallen to the rebels. "The Liberian Government had taken steps to show its willingness to negotiate, but this should not be seen as a sign of weakness," the ambassador said, adding that the Liberian Government would contain the rebellion.

Comments on Abduction of Former Minister

AB0806233090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
2030 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Liberia's one time foreign minister who has been serving as the general services manager of the Bong Mining Company in Bong County, Mr. Ernest Eastman, is reported to have been abducted by rebel forces in recent rebel violence in the area. This was disclosed to a cross-section of local and foreign journalists today by Information Minister Emmanuel Bowier, during a press briefing at the Monrovia City Hall.

[Begin Bowier recording] The rebels went to Bong Mine, singled out Krahn and Mandigo people and had them killed. The number of persons killed is not known at present. But it is said to be more than 10. Mr. Ernest Eastman, who is the administrative manager of the Bong Mining Company, was abducted by the rebels and we are informed that he was taken to Kakata by the rebels, taken back to Bong Mine, and has now been taken back to Kakata. [passage omitted]

From the Roberts [as heard] International Airport, the latest report received this morning is that the Government of Liberia is, in fact, in charge of the Roberts International Airport. The report from the Justice Ministry revealed that the Roberts International Airport, the airport area, was never entered by the rebels. The rebels were based in Harbel and that is a distance from Robertsfield. The airport area was not touched by the rebels and that presently, there is a colonel in the Armed Forces of Liberia who is presently at the Roberts International Airport with some men under his command and they are in charge of Roberts International Airport at this point in time. [end recording]

Touching on new developments during the press briefing, Minister Bowier told journalists that the Foreign Ministry has received indications from the Italian Embassy near Monrovia, regarding what he termed as the forceful confiscation of the embassy's vehicles by elements considered to be rebels. [passage omitted]

The revelation of this new development was followed by a question and answer period during which Minister Bowier was asked by journalists some questions beginning with these two from a reporter of the REUTER NEWS AGENCY:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Who is in control today at the Firestone Plantation and what kind of fighting is going on out there, as far as you know? [words indistinct]

[Bowier] Well as I said here, I cannot tell you what kind of fighting is going on out there now because you are here and I am here. What I can tell is that the latest reports I received from the Security this morning stated clearly that the rebels were in Firestone, they were in the Harbel area and that the rebels did not reach Robertsfield...that the rebels have been flushed out of the area, according to

the military dispatch from Robertsfield. What is happening now in fact is, as I sit here, I do not know because I am not there.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] how many rebels and what their arms were and...?

[Bowier, interrupting] No, they did not tell me how many rebels were involved, they did not tell me the type of weapons they were using. Those are all part of the military classified information that they might not want to tell me now.

[Reporter] You have appealed to the UN to organize a roundtable talk, meaning the president is now prepared to sit down at the table with Charles Taylor?

[Bowier] The Government of Liberia is prepared to negotiate with the National Patriotic Front around a roundtable in order to resolve the conflict. This conflict should not be seen as the Charles Taylor-President Doe conflict.

[Reporter] But he said in the past that he will not meet a man he considered to be a criminal.

[Bowier] The Government of Liberia is represented by people, the president is one person in the government who is at the head. The president of Liberia may not be the person at the negotiation table. The Government of Liberia will send a team to negotiate, whoever is on the other side is their (?business). But the Government of Liberia is not interested in the personality.

[Reporter] Will he be prepared to have his ministers or representatives...?

[Bowier, interrupting] The president is now prepared to have the Government of Liberia's delegation talk to the Patriotic Front directly and in person around the roundtable in order to find a peaceful solution to the problem. The Government of Liberia is not interested in bloodshed.

[Reporter] Could you just be a little more specific? There is no precondition then against Charles Taylor being involved in talks under the UN flag?

[Bowier] No, I do not think so. The Government of Liberia will negotiate with the Patriotic Front. The president of Liberia will not negotiate with the person of Charles Taylor, but the president is not the government. The government has its delegation that will meet with the Patriotic (?spokesman), whoever they want to bring on their side, the Government of Liberia (?forms) no objection. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Eastman Released

AB0906180690 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1710 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Former Foreign Minister Ernest Eastman, who was captured by rebel forces in Bong Mines, Bong County, has been set free. Mr. Eastman, general services

manager of the Bong Mining Company, was abducted recently by rebel forces of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia in an attack on the area. The government release said Mr. Eastman was released early yesterday unharmed and that he is presently in good condition in Bong Town on the mines.

UPP: Doe Authorized Talks With Rebels in U.S.

AB1006181890 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1710 10 Jun 90

[Text] The United People's Party, the UPP, has announced that its executive officers met with local party leaders and provided them a briefing on efforts that are being made by the UPP leadership to help bring about a peaceful solution to the crisis in the country. In the briefing, the UPP release said yesterday the executive officials indicated that over the past few months, they have been trying to utilize every available opportunity by means that are direct or through third parties to encourage both the Government of Liberia and the National Patriotic Front to pursue a political solution to the problems.

The party leaders said that it was in the pursuit of a political solution that the UPP participated on the recent Liberian delegation to the United States. They said the delegation had a clear understanding from President Doe that discussions could be entered into with the National Patriotic Front if its spokesmen in America were willing to talk.

The UPP executives reaffirmed the party's position that a solution to political problems should not be sought through military means. The executive officials said they have been trying to encourage flexibility and the avoidance of any one of the parties concerned in the conflict of its concerning itself with a fixed position. [sentence as heard]

The release further said that while all these peace efforts were being pursued, party executives have been also striving to influence decision makers in the government to take strong measures to curb such ugly features such as the wanton and gruesome killing of innocent civilians, kidnapping, ransacking of homes by armed men, among others, that the present crisis has produced. The party also gave assurances that they would continue their efforts to encourage a political solution to the present crisis.

Opposition Leader Tells of Detention in Nigeria

AB1006111090 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 8 Jun 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Throughout the rebellion in Liberia, one country, upon whose support Liberia appears to have been able to rely, is Nigeria. And then yesterday, a Nigerian official was quoted as saying that Doe would be welcome, if he

wanted to go there. But, that support has caused problems for at least one Liberian exiled opposition leader, (Togbana Tipoute), of MOJA [Movement for Justice in Africa] who is normally based in Holland. He was visiting Nigeria last month to attend a conference unconnected with his political work. It was around the time that President Doe was paying a visit to the country and (Tipoute) said he was picked up by security officials. He called us from West Africa and told Robin White what had happened to him.

[Begin recording] [(Tipoute)] Well, they me took to detention. They have a prison of the State Security in Lagos, and they kept me there for nine days without any charges at all.

[White] Do you assume that you were picked up on the orders of the government?

[(Tipoute)] Yes, definitely. It was the State Security at the highest level.

[White] And you assume that it is because of your opposition to Doe?

[(Tipoute)] Well, on the line of questioning, this came out that they want to take certain actions within the context of the very close relationship between the Babangida regime and the Doe regime.

[White] Why did they finally let you go?

[(Tipoute)] Well, they did primarily, because, I think, of pressure that began to mount within Nigeria itself and from outside coming from my organization MOJB and other supporters at the international level. So pressures began to mount, and then I suppose, it became embarrassing for the head of state to have us detained further, because we were making the point that Nigeria, being the country that it is, should be in the forefront to set an example in trying to bring all parties together to pave the way for peaceful change in Liberia, instead of being partisan by taking repressive action against one of the forces fighting for democracy in Liberia.

[White] In fact, have you been able to discover how much support the Nigerian Government is giving to the Doe Government?

[(Tipoute)] Well, we have received several indications. I think our foremost is the reception that Doe got on his recent visit to Nigeria. Well, what we do know concretely is that the Nigerian Government has just decided to lend the Liberian State some money so that the Liberian Government can pay back some of the \$30 million owed the African Development Bank. That one is solid, but with respect to material support for the war effort, we only heard rumors.

[White] What rumors?

[(Tipoute)] Well, there were rumors published in Nigerian papers that shipment of arms were sent from Nigeria to the Liberian Government. [end recording]

Senegal

* Foreign Economic Interference Decried

90AF0149C Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
6-13 Apr 90 p 5

[Editorial by Abdou Sow: "The Proconsuls"]

[Text] Mamadou Dia says in his memoirs that in 1958 shortly before the referendum, when the question of Senegal's national independence was being considered, "there was a discussion about the length of time needed. In Senghor's view, it would take 15 or 20 years to achieve autonomy." It was only as a result of protracted discussions to extract "concession after concession" that the date for accession to independence was set for no more than five years in the future.

This episode, albeit a personal account by the former president of the council, has much to teach us. Twenty years: that is exactly how long Leopold Sedar Senghor was head of state, as if he had remained faithful to his conviction that "it would take 15 or 20 years to achieve autonomy." And indeed the years Senghor spent as president were marked by unconditional alignment with French culture and policy, thoroughly exemplifying the scope of everything the term "French-speaking" implied for Senghor. Senegal was a model neocolonial state, and officials apparently felt no chagrin about repeating over and over that the bonding with France was a voluntary and irreversible decision.

Many observers thus saw Senghor as a proconsul who managed the colony for the benefit of the colonial power and did so for 20 years, the time he had fixed for accession to independence. The conclusion imposed by such a reading of Senegalese history is that Year 1 of our country's "real" independence should coincide with Diouf's rise to power, an accession basically engineered by Senghor himself.

So Senegal this year should really be celebrating not the 30th anniversary of its independence but the 10th: the first 20 years were spent under Senghor's proconsulate. But perhaps not even everyone would agree that this last decade has been one of freedom and full exercise of international sovereignty, because during these years the Senegalese Government has actually been run by an unofficial "prime minister"—Jean Collin—who, precisely because of his French origin and past experience as a colonial administrator, has been perceived and denounced by the political opposition as the greatest obstacle to full realization of independence. In short, another proconsul whom Senghor had bequeathed to Diouf along with the presidency.

Beyond this subjective factor, the last 10 years have also been characterized by the fragmentation into several centers of the influence previously exercised by France alone. Countries like the United States are making their presence felt more and more, and at the same time we have seen a veritable invasion of the Bretton Woods

institutions, the IMF and World Bank. The dictates of these institutions brush aside any idea of free choice or independence, and impose administrative models that the nominal governments tamely accept.

For all these reasons, one is constrained to wonder sometimes exactly what is being celebrated on the fourth of April: it certainly cannot be "Independence Day." The word has less and less meaning in the context of the countries of the "South," whose economies and societies are being buffeted by forces of sweeping change over which they have no control. Perhaps it would be more accurate to speak of "Nation Day," since that would not necessarily carry all the metaphysical connotations of liberty. But states need their mythologies, and for a long time to come the governments of the former colonies will celebrate their "independence days" with great solemnity, if not pomp, as Senegal did this year. Even President Diouf, in his message to the nation on the eve of "Independence Day," said he dreamed of the day when economic independence would make national independence complete. Economic independence, a concept one might have thought obsolete by now—it dates from the early days of independence, when the phenomenon of neocolonialism was first identified—still survives as an expression of the frustrating inability to create the conditions under which independence can flourish. "Let us have faith in ourselves," the head of state said. And some assumed he was encouraging us to continue in spite of Collin's departure—or perhaps because of it—in order to make the point that the Senegalese people are capable of pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps.

There is really no basis for such an assertion. Except, perhaps, the extraordinary character of that exhortation to faith in ourselves, which turns up 30 years after political independence and that reminds us that at bottom the country has all too often found itself in the position of implementing policy decisions that it was not involved in making. When it wasn't France, through its cooperation policy, doing our thinking for us—and making our mistakes for us—it was other developed countries or financial institutions deciding just how the Senegalese people would live: and their decisions one might add, were not terribly charitable.

So Senegal, like dozens of other Third World countries, finds itself 30 years after independence, in the paradoxical situation, of having to exhort itself to have faith in itself. Because up to now we have entertained such an exaggerated idea of our independence that it was impossible to give it any meaningful content. Intellectuals like Theophile Obenga and Edem Kodjo have already discussed in quite sufficient detail everything that is wrong with Africa's comic-opera governments. In Senegal, after 30 years of proconsulate rule, we are still waiting for Year 1 of independence. (No one imagines we can live in splendid and isolated freedom, totally insulated from outside influences: we mean only a situation where the majority of the population would have a greater voice in decisionmaking and national policy.)

Our present circumstances constrain us to be less passive in accepting the imperatives issuing from the North, from the West, and soon from the East. But our independence will only be meaningful when "the people" become something more than a political abstraction evoked when perpetrating electoral fraud: when they become in fact the final arbiters of all policy.

But so long as Western experts write the development plans and the adjustment plans, and so long as other experts judge those plans to have failed, the people are going to be left out. And the country will still be under the thumb of proconsuls, be they individuals or institutions.

* Opposition Divided by Opposing Strategies

90AF0149A Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
6-13 Apr 90 p 3

[Commentary by Abdourahmane Camara: "Demonstrations of Division"; first paragraph is WAL FADJRI introduction]

[Text] Relations among the "group of nine" are becoming more and more rancorous. And the demonstrations scheduled for the fourth of April clearly revealed, behind the facade of unity, the increasing divergence of strategies among the opposition parties....

As fourth of April parades go, the one organized by the opposition "group of nine" was a fiasco. The people did not go out into the streets to demonstrate about their grievances. Party leaders were unable to get to the Monument to the Dead from Independence Square, because security forces had cordoned off downtown Dakar early. Forced to turn back, the cortege of vehicles led by opposition leaders (all of whom were present with the exception of Babacar Niang du Pip) broke up and never succeeded in regrouping. Militants, supporters, and curiosity seekers were dispersed by the security forces, which resorted to tear gas after being pelted with rocks. The upshot: demonstrators vented their spleen on selected vehicles, which were burned (three on Galandou Diouf Street), and on shops, which were looted while kiosks and tires were piled up to create barricades. Playing cat and mouse with the police and constabulary, they kept Medina and Fass boiling until almost noon. In a word, it was a scene very familiar to those who have seen previous demonstrations organized by the opposition.

Strong Feelings

Was it absolutely imperative for them to go to Independence Square to lay sheafs of flowers at the very moment the president was holding a military parade there in the presence of the diplomatic corps? Could they not have found some other way to express themselves than marching to Obeslisk Square from the Monument to the Dead? These two questions were the subject of lengthy discussions in the most recent meetings of party leaders, and even more debate today in the aftermath of the

holiday events, which saw innocent citizens seriously victimized by acts of vandalism. Indeed, as one party leader told us, "the communique calling for demonstrations on the fourth of April was born of an unfortunate mistake, a misunderstanding"—because it was issued before discussions were concluded. This itself betrays the sort of strong feelings that can lead only to deeper divisions.

In their meeting tomorrow, 7 April, the opposition "nine" face the difficult task of settling definitively a fundamental dispute over the direction to be followed in the future. According to the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party] and those who support its line, it is essential to continue putting pressure on the regime, to drive it into a corner by escalating such protest activities as demonstrations, marches, etc., in short, anything to put the regime off its stride. A strategy of harassment with which AND-JEF [MRDN—Revolutionary Movement for a New Democracy] and OST [Workers Socialist Organization] are increasingly uncomfortable. Many of these party leaders think it is time to put a temporary moratorium on the harassment strategy and to take a fresh look at the political situation. By stepping back, they say, the opposition would have a chance to devise new tactics for the struggle, tactics that might make it possible to avoid the excesses (vandalism) that spoiled the initiative of the "nine."

The "group of nine" thus finds itself torn between two currents, neither of which is prepared to make more concessions than necessary. Will Maodo be able to reconcile the two camps and shore up the group's unity?

And What About the Democratic Dialogue?

The 4 April "celebration" of the 30th anniversary of the nation's independence was a very sober affair: a simple military parade at Independence Square, with access strictly limited. Was such austerity an expression of President Abdou Diouf's intention, announced after the latest (27 March) ministerial shake-up, to cut down dramatically on governmental ostentation and pomp? Or was it a reaction to opposition threats, an effort to avoid disturbances like those that marred last year's celebration?

Whatever the answer, the commemorative speech delivered by the chief of state on 3 April put heavy emphasis on law and order. This was a disappointment to those who had hoped for a conciliatory message. But Diouf was categorical: Further progress on the road to "democracy presupposes protection of the freedoms and rights of all, as well as everyone's respect for the nation's laws. In future, I will be even more vigilant in this regard than I have been in the past."

And where does the "democratic dialogue" enter into all that?

* Democracy Recommended To Counter Violence

90AF0149B Dakar SUD HEBDO in French
12 Apr 90 p 1

[Editorial by Demba Ndiaye: "Violence, Did You Say?"]

[Text] It is undeniable that since February 1988 Senegal has nourished a "culture" of violence, or at least—which is not quite the same thing—Senegalese society has apparently lost what used to be one of its most solidly rooted attributes: its carefree nonchalance. The new mind set is one of aggressive and pro-active engagement, to the point of destructiveness. At the same time, there is apparently a tragic misunderstanding as to the causes of this new culture. Some people think the violence comes from—and is stirred up by—the opposition in its confrontation with the regime; others think the climate of tension is what encourages this violence to be expressed. Therefore it was already in existence. Now both of these explanations, by omitting any social analysis of the perpetrators of this new mode of behavior, completely cloud any real understanding of the phenomenon. We will venture our own interpretation. Can violence arise without a cause? Unless one believes human behavior is gratuitous—a hypothesis that reason rejects—one must admit, appearances notwithstanding, that at bottom it is rooted in the prevailing unwholesome social atmosphere.

Is it superficial, provocative or out of place to suggest that a stagnant and oppressive environment that has become a dumping ground for shattered hopes should turn people into rebels? When people feel themselves to be useless at age 18, dead at 30, and burdensome corpses at 50—when they feel thus excluded, how can we expect anything of them but continuous and destructive rebellion? The fact that attacks have been made indiscriminately against a number of different targets does not weaken the argument: it only goes to show the all-encompassing extent of social rejection. When one has nothing, as Sartre used to say, one is necessarily a nihilist. Moreover, it is admitted now that political demonstrations are being infiltrated by social "delinquents," although the latter are being arrested every day—and just as quickly released. It is also admitted that since February 1990 the PS [Socialist Party] has resumed hiring "ringers" to infiltrate opposition demonstrations. Who are they? What are they doing there? Is it not enough that victims are traumatized and these unfortunate events exploited for political ends? Must one also start down the slippery slope of calling for no more demonstrations, for more security, more police, and creation of "self-defense" squads? That road leads to dictatorial authoritarianism. That said, let us be clear about one thing: there is no reasonable justification for destructive acts. But the moral obligation to condemn such acts implies first making the effort to decode them, to understand their origin and motivations.

Exaggerated and onesided condemnations—like the "news reports" from ORTS [Senegalese Radio and Television Office] (Thursday) and those published in

SOLEIL (Friday)—only make things worse. The opposition must condemn those gratuitous acts and call for more vigilance on the part of its militants.

The government should devote more effort to protecting the security of the demonstrations (as in civilized countries), instead of systematically dispersing them with heavyhanded tactics. In other words, for democracy to take root in our country, citizens must be able to fully exercise their democratic rights and privileges. The real antidote for violence is social and political democracy.

* Poor Economic Performance Despite Record Aid

90AF0149D Dakar SUD HEBDO in French
28 Mar 90 p 7

[Article by Sidy Gaye: "What Is Not Said"]

[Text] The compartmentalized character of the information that comes out whenever Senegal renegotiates its debt has kept the public in the dark, except in a very general way, about the extraordinary scale of the support Senegal has consistently received from overseas partners.

At a time when signs of compassion fatigue are beginning to be seen in partners that have supported the Senegalese economy since the dawn of African independence, a brief synopsis of the special ties between our country and these donors might help sustain—by opening wider—the debate beginning to be heard in various Western chanceries and policy circles of the central government....

The most recent (13 February) Paris Club debt rescheduling meeting with our government's creditors illustrates perfectly the increasing divergence of views seen whenever the international community is called on to make new concessions to Senegal—a longstanding partner, to be sure, but one whose economic performance and management have not yet fully justified the confidence thus far placed in it.

When it went before its creditors on 13 February, the Senegalese delegation headed by Mr. Serigne Lamine Diop, then minister of economic and financial affairs, had to explain an extraordinarily embarrassing financial situation. As had occurred every year since October 1981, the date of the first rescheduling, the Senegalese Government was once again unable to meet its debt service obligations. In fact, it faced a financing gap estimated by Diop at 33 billion CFA [African Financial Community] francs, which had to be overcome to settle up for the year.

What Senegal therefore requested of its creditors was essentially a 30-month delay and new credits amounting to about 90 billion CFA francs. The Paris Club turned down this request, although it ended up agreeing to provide a 12-month deferment and credits totaling 44 billion CFA francs.

Diop believes he did well. The former economic and finance minister said in an interview with SOLEIL on his

return from Paris that the agreement not only released Senegal this year from the obligation of paying out 33 billion it does not have, but it also provided an extra 11.4 billion in the bargain.

Sources close to certain Western chanceries emphasized, however, that in reality this year the government's creditors gave their privileged partner no more than a bare minimum. These sources also noted that only 72 hours after Mr. Diop's departure, Poland—whose per capita income is five times that of Senegal—was allowed to reschedule an astronomical \$9.4 billion in debt (2,820 billion CFA francs), payable over 14 years with an eight-year grace period.

Even if the comparison is unfair, given the new preferential relations with the countries of East Europe, it would be difficult to find a more instructive example of the lassitude [vis-a-vis Senegal] that has overcome our overseas partners.

Yet Senegal has long held a privileged position with these donors. And the debt renegotiations once again bore this out.

Spoiled Child

The spoiled child of international cooperation, Senegal in recent years was the beneficiary of more multilateral debt alleviation than almost any other country in the world.

Following Senegal's reclassification, at President Abdou Diouf's insistence, as one of the poorest countries in the world, it became one of the first 13 African countries to profit from the Toronto Plan formulated in October 1988 by President Francois Mitterrand to help the least-developed countries.

Senegal, part of whose government-to-government debt to France was unconditionally forgiven in May 1989 at the third summit of French-speaking countries in Dakar, was also selected by the Bush administration in July 1989 as one of 16 African countries to benefit from cancellation of part of the debt owed to the United States.

But what is even more extraordinary is that Senegal, whose low income makes it eligible for credits from IFAD [International Fund for Agricultural Development] and IDA [International Development Association] as well as for various facilities offered by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, has also been enrolled on the list of potential beneficiaries of the Brady Plan, which in principle is limited to intermediate-income countries barred from taking advantage of the Toronto Plan's provisions.

At the same time, the partners that have accorded Senegal this special dispensation do not seem embarrassed about excluding various other African countries that meet all of the Brady Plan's eligibility criteria....

Finally, in addition to the 12 reschedulings it has received in the last nine years (eight public and four commercial debt reschedulings, of which negotiations for the latest are well advanced), the government is currently working with the World Bank to study the possibility of debt conversion or a discounted buyback of its debt at a rate estimated by Salomon Brothers at less than 57 percent of its face value.

Already the World Bank has set aside for Senegal some \$10 million of the \$100 million reserved for financing this kind of operation in various countries throughout the world.

This very special attention it has received from its creditors ever since the early 1980's has been matched by a quasicontinuous influx of new money, so that today Senegal holds the world record for overall per capita international assistance.

According to a critical evaluation—the first of its kind the World Bank has undertaken in an African country—Senegal's partners between 1980 and 1986 provided it net capital flows (from all sources) averaging 240 billion CFA francs per year. Three-fourths of it was extended in the form of gifts or on highly concessional terms. In other words, since President Diouf came to power the international community has provided the equivalent of 24,000 CFA francs to every Senegalese citizen, almost twice the amount received by the other Sahelian countries, some of which are themselves among the world's largest aid recipients.

One might prefer to hold President Diouf himself responsible for all this. But the truth is more complex.

The current head of state received from his "illustrious" predecessor a veritable poisoned package. The last years of Senghor's administration were characterized, according to international experts, by chronic deficits

caused primarily by extravagant spending (government, private, and household) completely incommensurate with the nation's relatively modest resources.

For example, between 1978 and 1981 public and private consumption increased by 5 and 3.8 percent per year, respectively, while investment declined by 4.3 percent and national production of goods and services increased by only 0.8 percent. Failing to redress these excesses of the "Senghor years" because to do so would have been "politically inexpedient," the successive governments in power since 1981 have never been able to establish the base of popular support that any strategic break with the past would have required.

Today, as the first postindependence generation emerges noisily from universities, institutes, colleges and other overpopulated shantytowns, the facts they must face are bitter. As bitter for our partners and the authorities as for mere observers.

Over the 30 years of independence, the economic growth rate in the world's largest per capita aid recipient is "the weakest shown by any African country not beset by war or irremediable social conflicts." Per capita income has declined almost steadily for a quarter of a century; today it is lower than it was in the 1960's. More than one-third of Senegalese adults are illiterate. Half the children do not attend school.

This somber tableau is not of our own making. The blueprint was drawn by the World Bank, which has all of us in its power—not just donors and governments.

In today's rapidly changing international environment, will we be able to continue living on international assistance? Have we devoted our best efforts, our own special talents and our own resources to the task of solving our problems? In the decades to come, what patrimony are we going to leave to the rising generation?

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DATE FILMED

12 June 1990

